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OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1908

Ninth Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Ill.,
January 30-31, 1908.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these contributions to State History may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.
2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care; for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.
3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.
4. Bibliographies.
5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets, or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the State Historical Library. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the coöperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such coöperation and mutual undertaking that this society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In consideration it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

—B H

PART I.

Record of Official Proceedings.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BUSINESS MEETING, THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, AT 10:00 O'CLOCK.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Alfred Orendorff, who said:

"The ninth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society is in session. The secretary will please proceed to read her annual report."

The secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, read her report.

On motion of Mr. Russel the report was received and adopted and ordered placed on file. The report of the secretary was ordered printed as a part of the transactions of the society.

Report of the treasurer being called for, it was read by the treasurer, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

President—"Does the society wish to have the items of expense read? If not, what shall be done with this report?"

On motion the report of the treasurer as read was received and ordered placed on file.

Reports of committees being called for, Miss Georgia L. Osborne read the report of the Genealogical Committee, which was received and adopted and ordered placed on file.

Mr. H. W. Clendenin made a motion for the appointment of a Nominating Committee, which received a second, and on being put to vote was carried, and the president appointed as such committee, the maker of the motion,

Mr. Clendenin, as chairman, and Messrs. R. B. Carpenter, Belvidere; Mr. John S. Little, Rushville; Mr. James H. Matheny, Springfield; Mr. W. T. Norton, Alton.

President—"The gentlemen have leave, if they wish to retire and consult about the matter of nominations."

Mr. Clendenin—"What offices are to be filled?"

President—"President, three vice presidents and board of directors. You can get the list here at the desk."

The committee retired for consultation.

President—Is there a report from the publication committee?"

Professor Greene, the chairman being absent, Mr. C. W. Alvord spoke briefly of the work of the committee.

President—"Reports from local historical societies are in order.

"We will be glad to hear the report from the Colored Historical Society, by Mrs. Hickman."

Report was read by Mrs. Hickman.

President—"We would be glad to hear from Captain Burnham if he has a report to make or any word to say in regard to local historical societies."

Report of Committee on Local Historical Societies was read by Captain J. H. Burnham, chairman of the committee.

President—"Gentlemen, this report contains several suggestions that seem to be of importance. What course shall it take? Will you discuss any of these matters? If not, the report may be adopted. This means that recommendations in the report be adopted."

Report of Captain Burnham was adopted.

E. C. Page—"In the report of the secretary was there not a suggestion as to a change in the time for the annual meeting?"

Secretary—"Under the constitution, any change in the time for the annual meeting must be made by making such change in the constitution."

Mr. Clinton—"To what date was it proposed to change?"

Secretary—"Two different dates have been suggested, May and October. I think the concensus of opinion favors a May meeting."

Mr. J. W. Clinton—"I move that the time of the annual meeting be left to the Board of Directors, but that they be instructed to fix the time somewhere between the 10th of May and the 20th of June."

Mr. Chas. H. Rammelkamp—"Would the adoption of that motion be the proper way to meet the requirements of the constitution as to the making of such a change of date for meeting?"

President—"I think so."

Mr. Rammelkamp—"I am in favor of the change."

Prof. J. A. James—"Allow me to say that our examinations and commencements come the latter part of May and early in June. I would suggest that the meetings of the society be held from the 10th to the 15th of May."

Miss Rutherford—"Will not that date interfere with the school commencements?"

After some further discussion, Prof. James moved that the Board of Directors be asked to fix the time for the meeting in the month of May, and Mr. Clinton accepted the amendment to limit the time to May.

Captain Burnham—"If this vote is taken, would it take effect at once and settle the matter of the date for future meetings?"

President—"Yes."

The fact that meetings had been held during the sessions of the Legislature was referred to, and Mr. Page said that so far as that made any difference the later date would be preferable to the time we have been holding the meetings in January. And he also suggested that if the time of the week could be changed so as to be more favorable for the attendance of those interested who are engaged in educational work, t would accommodate many more teachers. "Say begin the meetings on Thursday evening so that practically only one school day would be lost. I make this merely as a suggestion to the Board of Directors."

President—"We would be glad to hear from any others on this subject. Perhaps the ladies have some suggestions to make as to the time most convenient for them."

Mrs. Taylor—"I prefer the month of May."

Mr. Crowder—"I also prefer May."

President—"It has been recommended by the Board of Directors that Prof. Edwin Erle Sparks, who has been called to a college in another state, be made an honorary member of this society."

Professor James—"Should we not make recognition of Prof. Sparks' services to this society by resolution, or have the secretary write him of this action?"

President—"I am sure the secretary will take pleasure in carrying out the wishes of the society and properly notify him of this action."

It was voted that Professor Sparks be made an honorary member of the society and the secretary was directed to so inform him.

The nominating committee being ready to report, the chairman, Mr. Clendenin, said that in accordance with the advice of Mr. Lincoln, that "it is not well to change horses in the middle of the stream," the committee had thought best to recommend practically no changes in the officers of the society and read the report of the nominating committee, and moved its adoption.

Mr. Clendenin's motion having received a second, President Orendorff put the question and the report was adopted; but in accordance with the requirements of the constitution that the election of officers must be by ballot, and upon motion the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot in accordance with the report of the Nominating Committee.

President—"The secretary has cast the ballot, and I declare the officers named elected."

President, Gen. Alfred Orendorff, Springfield.

First Vice President, Hon. Clark E. Carr, Galesburg.

Second Vice President, Hon. Smith D. Atkins, Freeport.

Third Vice President, Hon. L. Y. Sherman, Springfield.

Board of Directors, Edmund Janes James, president of the University of Illinois, Urbana; M. H. Chamberlin, president of McKendree college, Lebanon; Hon. George N. Black, Springfield; J. H. Burnham, Bloomington; Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois, Urbana; Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield; Hon. Wm. H. Collins, Quincy; Hon. J. O. Cunningham, Urbana; Hon. Andrew Russel, Jacksonville; George W. Smith, Southern Illinois Normal University, Carbondale; W. T. Norton, Alton; Hon. Wm. A. Meese, Moline; Hon. Jesse A. Baldwin, Chicago; Mr. J. W. Clinton, Polo; Rev. C. J. Eschmann, Prairie du Rocher.

Honorary Vice Presidents, The presidents of local Historical societies.

Captain Burnham inquired if the different localities where the Lincoln-Douglas debates were held were represented.

Mr. Elliot Callender of Peoria read a paper on the life and services of Judge David McCulloch, late a director of the Illinois State Historical Society.

A paper on the life of Gen. Lewis B. Parsons, to be read by his daughter, Miss Julia E. Parsons, was called for. The secretary reported that the paper had been received, but Miss Pasons was unable to be present, and owing to lack of time the paper was read by title.

Professor J. A. James—"Were we not to hear a report from Colonel Carr on the plans for the Lincoln-Douglas Debate celebrations?"

Colonel Carr being called upon, said:

"I have visited everyone of the places where the Lincoln-Douglas debates were held, Ottawa, Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg, Alton and Quincy, all the places where these debates were held. I notified beforehand, the local committeemen about the time that I would be there and they assembled in each place, representative men of both political parties.

"The meetings were usually held at some local club of the town.

"At these meetings I thereupon laid the matter before them to the best of my ability, stating that the object desired to be attained was the awakening of an interest in the coming anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate in that town.

"I found it very pleasant work. There were assembled a goodly number, from 20 to 30, and they manifested considerable interest, appointed committees, usually the permanent local committeeman was made chairman, and appointed executive committees to form plans to arrange for initial meeting at each place. I gave them the best advice I could as to how to proceed.

"We had an especially good meeting at Freeport. Mr. Atkins had made a special effort to that end and there were about thirty at the meeting. Mr. Atkins was made chairman.

"We had a good meeting at Jonesboro. All turned out and took an interest. Anna is now the town. Jonesboro was then the town, the two are now connected by trolley.

"I found considerable interest at Charleston. At Charleston they are trying to get Senator Beveridge to be their orator. I saw him in Washington and had a little talk with him. He was doubtful whether he could be there but he was their choice as he was a Coles county man and they want him for their orator.

"There was a good meeting at Ottawa. Mr. E. C. Swift, chairman.

"At Alton a great interest was manifested. Mr. Norton, our committeeman assembled them there, and they have made arrangements for a large celebration.

"At Quincy, Mr. Wm. H. Collins was the local chairman.

"At all places much interest was manifested. The great question was to get an orator worthy of the occasion. Most of them wanted the President of the United States.

"At Galesburg the arrangements were not made until last week. They have already had two celebrations. At one of these Governor John M. Palmer was the orator. They also had Chauncey M. Depew and Robert T. Lincoln.

"The year when McKinley was a candidate for re-election, 1900, they had a most extraordinary celebration. The orator was the lately departed Charles Emory Smith. President McKinley and Mrs. McKinley were there and every member of the President's cabinet except Mr. Lyman S. Gage, Secretary of the Treasury. Our people are taking a very great interest in the approaching anniversary."

Mr. Russel—"Has the date been set?"

Mr. Carr—"It is the intention to have these meetings opened exactly upon not only the day, but the hour, when the debates were held, and at the place where they were held."

President—"The people have selected as the place, the spot, where the debate was held, on the Galesburg or Knox College grounds."

Gen. Smith D. Atkins of Freeport said it was expected to have on the platform every survivor who was present at the debate fifty years ago.

President—"We would be glad to hear from local committees wherever celebrations are to be held."

Mr. Atkins spoke of the meetings for Freeport, where committees have been appointed. They will probably have two prominent speakers, one to speak on Lincoln and the other on Douglas.

Mr. W. T. Norton of Alton reported that they had great pleasure in meeting with Colonel Carr, and that matters were progressing.

Mr. Collins of Quincy was called for and he being absent, it was suggested that perhaps Mr. Ellis would report for Quincy.

President Orendorff asked if Mr. Ellis was present, but he had left the room.

Prof. Page spoke of the interest taken in these celebrations by Mr. Blair, Superintendent of Public Instruction, who has had prepared pamphlets which are intended for the use of teachers in drawing the attention of pupils to the facts mentioned; and said the pamphlets referred to could be had by anyone interested, on application.

Mrs. Weber, Chairman of Program Committee, asked for the coöperation of the entire society in the matter of the preparation of future programs, and for their help in such preparation.

Prof. James spoke of the work of preparation, which had fallen almost entirely upon the secretary and seconded her suggestion, asking assistance from all members of the society.

Mr. Carpenter, who had been absent from the room during the meeting of the Nominating Committee, asked if anything had been done in regard to the suggestion in the secretary's report favoring the printing of a quarterly publication.

President—"The adoption of the secretary's report carried with it the adoption of the suggestions made therein."

Mr. Norton, on account of circumstances which made it necessary for him to do so, resigned and nominated in his place, on the Committee on Lincoln-Douglas Debates, Mr. E. M. Bowman of Alton. This recommendation was referred to the Board of Directors.

On motion, the society adjourned to 1:30 o'clock, to meet in the literary sessions to hear the papers and addresses, according to the program of exercises.

DIRECTORS' MEETINGS

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the room of the secretary, Thursday morning, January 30, 1908, at 9:30 o'clock. Present:

The President, Gen. Alfred Orendorff, Mr. Andrew Russel, Mr. J. W. Clinton, Capt. J. H. Burnham, Mr. W. T. Norton, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

The report of the secretary was read and received.

The report of the treasurer was read and received.

Mrs. Weber moved that the board recommend to the society the election of Prof. E. E. Sparks as an honorary member of the society. Prof. Sparks having tendered his resignation as a director of the society, owing to his removal from the State to take up his duties as President of the Pennsylvania State College.

Mr. Russel seconded this motion, and the motion was carried.

President Orendorff asked that a like honor be conferred upon Mr. Horace White of New York. This motion was seconded and carried.

Captain Burnham explained that General A. E. Stevenson was to deliver one of the principal addresses of the annual meeting, and Mr. Horace White the other, and that General Stevenson is already an honorary member of the society.

There being no further business, the board of director's meeting adjourned to meet later in the session at a convenient time, and at the call of the president.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the secretary's room, Thursday, January 30, at 11:30 a. m.

Present—Messrs. Burnham, Russel, Clinton, Orendorff and Mrs. Weber.

On motion of Captain Burnham, General Orendorff was elected chairman of the Board of Directors, and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber was elected secretary and treasurer.

It was moved and seconded that the chairman be *ex officio* a member of each committee. The motion was carried.

The directors' meeting adjourned to meet later in the sessions at the call of the president.

DIRECTORS' MEETING.

January 31, 1908, at 11:15 A. M.

Present—Messrs. Orendorff, Burnham, Russel, Norton, Clinton, and Mrs. Weber.

Captain Burnham spoke at some length about an historical building, and the plans of the society for the legislation necessary to secure it. Captain Burnham urged the need of a periodical as a journal of information, for the society at large.

General Orendorff said the secretary had recommended such a periodical, and the recommendation had been adopted as a part of her report.

The secretary read a letter from Prof. Sparks, in which he spoke of the plans for the Lincoln-Douglas Debates; also of a pamphlet to be distributed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, which had been prepared by a committee from the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the Illinois State Historical Library.

The question of the periodical or bulletin was again discussed, and Mr. Norton moved that Messrs. Orendorff, Russel, Burnham and Mrs. Weber be a special committee on the periodical with power to act. This motion was seconded and carried.

It was moved by Captain Burnham, and carried, that the president be authorized to call meetings of the directors, their expenses to be paid by the society.

The president and directors conferred at length on the appointment of committees.

Mr. Norton, of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate Committee, at this session elected a director of the society, said that he could not act on the Lincoln-Douglas Debate Committee and asked that Mr. E. M. Bowman be made the local chairman of the Historical Society for the Alton celebration. A motion to that effect was made by Mr. Norton, and seconded by Captain Burnham, and on being put to a vote, was carried.

The following committees were appointed:

Publication Committee.

Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois, Urbana, Chairman.

Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.
J. McCan Davis, Springfield.
Geo. A. Dupuy, Chicago.
C. W. Alvord, Urbana.
M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon.
Geo. W. Smith, Carbondale.
Stephen L. Spear, Springfield.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio*.

Program Committee.

Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Chairman.

J. H. Burnham, Bloomington.
J. A. James, Evanston.
E. S. Willcox, Peoria.
Wm. A. Meese, Moline.
Dr. Otto Schmict, Chicago.
Charles H. Rammelkamp, Jacksonville.
Mrs. Catherine Goss Wheeler, Springfield.
Paul Selby, Chicago.
Charles P. Kane, Springfield.
F. J. Heinl, Jacksonville.
Logan Hay, Springfield.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

Finance and Auditing Committee.

George N. Black, Springfield, Chairman.

E. J. James, Urbana.
M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon.
Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

Committee on Legislation.

M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon, Chairman.

E. J. James, Urbana.
E. A. Snively, Springfield.
O. F. Berry, Carthage.
Samuel Alschuler, Aurora.
R. V. Carpenter, Belvidere.
Henry McCormick, Normal.
Andrew Russel, Jacksonville.
Charles E. Hull, Salem.
R. S. Tuthill, Chicago.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

Committee on Local Historical Societies.

J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Chairman.

J. Seymour Currey, Evanston.
George W. Smith, Carbondale.
Elliot Callender, Peoria.
J. O. Cunningham, Urbana.
Mrs. Charles A. Webster, Galesburg.
Horace Hull, Ottawa.
Mrs. Mary Turner Carriel, Jacksonville.
L. J. Freese, Eureka.
Gen. John I. Rinaker, Carlinville.
J. W. Clinton, Polo.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

Committee on Membership.

Judge J Otis Humphrey, Springfield, Chairman.

W. H. Stennett, Oak Park.
Charles L. Capen, Bloomington.
Daniel Berry, M. D., Carmi.
John M. Rapp, Fairfield.
Mrs. E. M. Bacon, Decatur.
A. W. French, Springfield.
Mrs. C. C. Brown, Springfield.
J. Nick Perrin, Belleville.
Wm. Jayne, M. D., Springfield.
Geo. E. Dawson, Chicago.
A. W. Crawford, Girard.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

Committee on the Commemoration of the Semi-Centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858.

Hon. Clark E. Carr, Galesburg, Chairman.

E. C. Swift, Ottawa.
M. C. Crawford, Jonesboro.
Philip S. Post, Galesburg.
E. M. Bowman, Alton.
H. W. Clendenin, Springfield.
Smith D. Atkins, Freeport.
Sumner S. Anderson, Charleston.
Wm. H. Collins, Quincy.
A. E. Stevenson, Bloomington.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio*.

Committee on the Marking of Historic Sites in Illinois.

Mrs. M. T. Scott, Bloomington, Chairman.

Harry Ainsworth, Moline.
Francis G. Blair, Springfield.
Reed Green, Cairo.
John E. Miller, East St. Louis.
J. S. Little, Rushville.
J. H. Collins, Springfield.
Charles B. Campbell, Kankakee.
Miss Lottie E. Jones, Danville.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio*.

Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications.

Miss Georgia L. Osborne, Springfield, Chairman.

Mrs. E. S. Walker, Springfield.
Mrs. Thomas Worthington, Jacksonville.
Mrs. John C. Ames, Streator.
Miss May Latham, Lincoln.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio*.

Committee to Determine the Correct Pronunciation of the Word "Illinois."

Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Chairman.

Jesse A. Baldwin, Chicago.
Francis G. Blair, Springfield.
E. J. James, Urbana-Champaign.
Mrs. Margaret M. Bangs, Chicago.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio*.

Special Committee to Confer With the Illinois State Library Association on Relations Between the Illinois State Historical Society and Libraries Throughout the State.

Miss Maude Thayer, Springfield, Chairman.

E. M. Prince, Bloomington.
T. J. Pitner, M. D., Jacksonville.
Dr. Grace Dewey, Jacksonville.
Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.
Mrs. Eliza I. H. Tomlin, Jacksonville.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio*.

Special Committee to Formulate a Plan for a Periodical Publication for the Historical Society.

Alfred Orendorff, Springfield, Chairman.

Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.
Andrew Russel, Jacksonville.
J. H. Burnham, Bloomington.

There being no further business the meeting of the Board of Directors adjourned.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JANUARY 1907 TO JANUARY 1908.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., January 30, 1908.

GENTLEMEN—I beg leave to submit to you my report of the work of the society for the year beginning January 24, 1907, and ending January 30, 1908. The society has from its organization flourished and grown and the report of each year has been that this year has been one of greater prosperity than its immediate predecessor. The year 1907 has been no exception to this rule. The society has grown and prospered in every branch of its numerous activities. It has increased in membership and in influence. It now has 477 members, 18 of which are honorary members, three life members and 34 members who have joined the society in accordance with our agreement with the Illinois State Press Association. I wish to pay a tribute to these press association members. Few of our members are in positions to be more helpful to the society than are these editors of newspapers throughout the State, and they most generously respond to our requests for assistance. We appeal to them for information in regard to matters relating to their respective neighborhoods, they insert notices of our meetings, and do all they can to extend the usefulness of the society. They also send their newspapers to the library and these files will in time, in fact they do now, furnish valuable history of the localities in which they are published.

The society has lost by the hand of death nine of its members. They are: Judge James B. Bradwell, one of our honorary members; Mrs. Eliza Kincaid Wilson, also an honorary member; Judge David McCulloch, one of the founders and a director of the society; Mr. Charles A. Dilg, Hon. L. H. Kerrick, Mr. John B. Orendorff, Dr. A. P. Coulter, Mr. Peyton Roberts and Hon. Wm. Vocke, one of our vice presidents. Suitable notices of these members will appear in the transactions of the society.

I wish again to ask the members of the society to inform the secretary of the deaths of any members of the society. Our membership is now so large and extends over the entire State, and it sometimes happens that deaths occur and that the secretary, not receiving notice of them, is unable to record them.

The president and secretary of the society attended the meeting which celebrated the semi-centennial of the Chicago Historical Society on February 8, 1907. An interesting historical address was delivered by Mr. Franklin H. Head, the president of the Chicago Historical Society and interesting letters of greeting and congratulation to this pioneer society were read from many individuals and societies. A number of the members of the Illinois State Historical Society are also members of the Chicago Historical Society and we had the pleasure of meeting them on this interesting occasion. The president and secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society also attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Madison, Wisconsin, on December 27th and 28th, 1907. They attended a meeting of the conference of historical societies of which Prof. E. B. Greene was the secretary, and on the same day attended the meeting of the Association of Mississippi Valley Historical Societies.

At this latter meeting the subject of coöperation of historical socities in the collection and publication of historical materials was thoroughly discussed and several plans were suggested for coöperation in the collection of source materials from the original records in the older states, and foreign countries. The Illinois State Historical Society was represented in this discussion by President Orendorff and Prof. C. W. Alvord. The Illinois State Historical Society is no longer one of the small societies, and there are several societies that are not as old as we are. I want to urge the members of this society to take some of the work of these important matters in hand. Our committees are active, but as I said to you last year there is still room for improvement along this line. I want each member of the society to aid in the collection of local material. If you have a local society, and I hope you have, collect first for your local society, and if you have no place to store your material urge your county authorities, or your city council to help you to secure such a place. If you have not a local society, send to the State society local imprints, books or sermons and addresses printed in your towns, or collections of letters, that throw light on the earlier history of the State or any part of it. The secretary has since the last annual meeting prepared and placed in the Illinois State building at Jamestown at the Ter-Centennial celebration of the settlement of Jamestown an historical exhibit relating to Illinois and its people, as usual placing stress upon the Lincoln exhibit. The Illinois State commissioners were well satisfied with the exhibit and have written me that there was no state exhibit at the exposition which approached it in interest, and that it was visited by more than ten thousand people during the progress of the exposition. It may not be out of place to speak of the work done by the Fort Massac commission in marking the site of old Fort Massac. The secretary of the Historical Society is also secretary to the Fort Massac commission. Fort Massac park is the property of the State of Illinois and is supported by the State as a free public park. The Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution appropriated one thousand dollars toward a monument to George Rogers Clark and his 154 brave companions in arms who captured Kaskaskia and the northwest for the state of Virginia and so for the United States.

The park is situated on a beautiful bluff of the Ohio river on the outskirts of the city of Metropolis in Massac county, Illinois. It is a beautiful spot, and the monument has been erected and is a most creditable shaft. The dedicatory exercises of the park and monument will occur in the early summer and the commission and the Daughters of the American Revolution are most anxious that the Historical Society take part. I suggest that delegates be sent to the dedication of this truly historic spot, which marks an era in the historical work of the State. Also at Quincy a monument will be erected to the memory and in honor of George Rogers Clark. This monument is erected from an appropriation by the State Legislature of $5,000. There are many more historic spots, which the State should own and preserve. Fort Gage, Starved Rock, and other sacred and historic spots should receive attention from the society. In this connection I desire to suggest that occasional meetings of the society should be held in the various localities of the State. Would not a summer meeting at Starved Rock in connection with the LaSalle county historical society be pleasurable and profitable? I think that the meetings in the several towns where the Lincoln-Douglas debates occurred will take the place of these local meetings for this year, and while I know that the committee for the celebration of the semi-centennial of the debates will call your attention to these matters, I can not refrain from urging that the society give the local committees the fullest sympathy and assistance. I think that special committees from the society should be appointed for each of these local celebrations. I believe the time is at hand when the society should publish a regular bulletin or some form of serial publication. Through these publications the work of local historical societies could be greatly facilitated. They may be quarterly, or bi-monthly, and they might be bound as a part of the annual transactions. The papers read or collected by the local societies might form a part of these bulletins.

I have often said that the work of the secretary of the society and the librarian of the library go hand in hand and it is hard to separate them in a report. The library has increased largely in the past year. Our genealogical department is especially flourishing and our collection of genealogical works is a surprise to visitors. The chairman of the committee on genealogy will make a report, so it is unnecessary for me to speak of it further, except to urge any members of the society who may have histories or historical sketches, however brief, of their families to donate copies of them to the library. The library purchases general works, but of course it can not buy family histories, as their name is legion. The librarian will welcome information or suggestions along this or other branches of the work of collecting historical material. We are preparing a bibliography of Illinois authors which the library board will publish in due time. We ask for information of Illinoisans who have written books, poems, songs, magazine or newspaper articles, or of books about Illinois people, places or events. The reference work of the library and society is constantly growing and I with my assistant do our best to meet it, and to respond to all inquiries and do the reference work which our correspondence requires. We receive dozens of letters each day, to answer which requires considerable labor and research. We have no stenographer regularly, but we sometimes employ one for short periods. We now have in the library more than twenty thousand books and pamphlets. The work of cataloguing and classifying them is well kept up and it is of course no light task. Since our last meeting the transactions for the year 1906 have been published. Five thousand copies of this valuable book were issued and the demand for it increases every day. It is a matter of deep regret to me that the earlier numbers of our transactions are entirely out of print. No day passes but we have inquiries from new members and others who wish to make their sets of our publications complete. It will certainly be necessary to take some steps to have them reprinted. Our last year's book is still in the hands of the printers. As the affairs of the State grow, so the demands for State printing grow, and it becomes more difficult to hasten the book, but I think you will be rewarded for your patience by its excellence when it finally reaches your hands. The publication committee deserves the highest commendation, and the fact that its chairman, Prof. E. B. Greene, gives so much of his valuable time to the editorial supervision of our transactions before the manuscript is placed in the hands of the printer should be especially appreciated by the society, as it ensures the value of the book according to modern historical methods.

The library has issued Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 2, of which you have all received copies. This is edited by Prof. C. W. Alvord, whose splendid introduction, which is a history of Illinois as a county of Virginia, is a distinct contribution to State history.

I very much regret that I am obliged to present to you the resignation of Prof. E. E. Sparks as a director of the society, though he will retain his membership and interest in this society for which he has labored so untiringly. He goes to the State college of Pennsylvania, and while we congratulate the Keystone state we are sorry to lose him from Illinois. He leaves us as a valedictory work his splendid volume, a new edition of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, which the library board will shortly publish.

These, I think, are the most important of the numerous labors in our field of State history. I wish to call your attention to the fact that next year, 1909, will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. The Governor recommended to the State Legislature the appointment of a commission to arrange for an appropriate celebration of this great historic occasion. The Legislature by joint resolution authorized the Governor to appoint a commission of fifteen citizens of the State to arrange for a celebration in Springfield on February 12, 1909. This will be one of the great dates of the twentieth century. I most earnestly urge that the society take an active part in connection with the commission to be appointed by the Governor, in making this one of the greatest celebrations that has ever been given in this country. We should invite historical societies from all the states, from large cities, from other countries, to send delegates to Springfield for this great event. It may be that when the subject of the change of date for holding our annual meeting is discussed you may decide that you would like to hold it at the time or very near the time of this great international celebration. I would like to suggest that you each try to make a list of the persons of your acquaintance, or of whom you have any knowledge who actually knew Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Douglas. We would be very glad to have copies of the reminiscences of these persons in the library. I suggest that you get such persons to write, or to dictate their reminiscences, and send copies to the secretary of the society.

The library is now so crowded that a new book becomes a problem. It may be that as the legal department of the State is moving over to the new and beautiful temple of justice, that we may obtain more room and thus relieve the congestion.

Once more let me say that the society is growing, rapidly, vigorously and wholesomely. Teachers, preachers, lawyers, doctors, merchants, farmers, housewives, Illinoisans from every walk of life are taking an interest in your work and trying to help you along. I will not speak of the local societies for the chairman of the committee for that purpose will tell you far better than I can how hopeful and encouraging is that work.

We are certainly marching on. I congratulate you, but I beg for help to secure original manuscripts, letters, etc. I am very sensitive of our deficiency in this respect. That is our great weakness. We have not what Wisconsin and Iowa have as yet, but we will have at no distant day. Illinois does not long remain behind in any branch of its work.

May I be pardoned if I say a word that may seem too personal.

I wish to say to the society that its thanks are due to my assistant. Miss Georgia L. Osborne. She has worked early and late. She has never been too ill or too tired to work for the interest of the library and the society. She has been, indeed, my faithful and sympathetic right hand. I hope you will pardon me for making this statement a part of the records of the society.

Respectfully,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,

Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

Amount on hand from 1906	$ 43 30	
Amount received from annual dues, 1907	225 00	
Receipts		$268 30
Expenditures		253 75
Balance		$14 55
B. F. Shambaugh, expenses	$34 75	
Bell Miller, supplies	13 50	
J. C. Newman, supplies	5 25	
Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin, expenses	15 55	
Postage	70 00	
R. L. Berry, piano	4 00	
Rex Underwood, services	5 00	
R. Albert Guest, services	10 00	
Grace Fish, services	5 00	
Jane P. Hubbell, supplies	3 00	
Maldaner & Son	28 60	
do	14 60	
Leland Hotel	4 50	
C. R. Coon, postage	25 00	
Printing programs	15 00	
Total		$253 75

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Jan. 30, 1908.

Illinois State Historical Society:

Your committee on local historical societies would respectfully report that we consider the general condition of the local societies in the State as quite satisfactory. Most of these are active; a few however, are quite the reverse.

At the late meeting of the American Historical Association at Madison, Wis., our State Historical Society was represented at the conference of state and local historical societies by our president and secretary, and these delegates learned that very few, if any, of the states can show a larger number of organized local societies. It is very difficult for a committee whose members are remote from the State Society's rooms to keep in proper touch with these local societies, and the efforts of the committee to foster and assist such organizations should, in our opinion, be supplemented by oversight from the State Society's headquarters.

We believe the time has arrived when these local societies should be in much closer relation to the State Society. We therefore recommend that our State secretary call on all of the local societies for the addresses of their officers and all of the members, in order that information concerning the State Society with hints and suggestions to the local societies may be sent occasionally to such officers and members.

We also suggest to our own society, in case it is decided to publish its proceedings and some other historical material through a quarterly, that in each issue there be a department of local history.

It may also be a good plan to give notice to such local societies as do not possess fireproof buildings, that in case copies of important local papers shall be sent to Springfield they will be carefully preserved for the benefit of these societies.

Other suggestions will naturally occur from time to time to the officers of the State Society in case closer relations shall be found desirable.

Respectfully submitted,

J. H. BURNHAM,
Chairman.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY AND GENEALOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., January 30, 1908.

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Your Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications, begs leave to submit the following report:

So far as it has been possible, the works on genealogy recommended by the committee in our last report have been purchased. Owing to the illness of Miss Thayer, Librarian of the State Library, nothing has been done in the matter of transferring the works on genealogy from the State Library to the State Historical Library. The list recommended at our last meeting has been submitted to the State Librarian.

We wish to acknowledge gifts of family histories to the society from the following persons: Dr. Leffingwell of Knoxville, Ill., Mr. V. C. Sanborne of LaGrange, Ill., and Mr. Norman G. Flagg of Moro, Ill.

I wish to call the attention of the members of the society to this department of the library and its usefulness and growing needs. The library has made a fine beginning and now contains a good working genealogical collection, which is in constant use.

We would like the coöperation of the members of the society in securing works on genealogy, such as family histories, town histories, and of local communities in the State. If you know of any family history that has been compiled or is being compiled, and will notify us as to the authors, so that we can communicate with them, and by this means have a copy of the history deposited in the library, it will be a great help along this line, as it would be impossible to purchase family histories (save in cases of allied families) and by this means such histories would be accessible to the public.

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Chairman of Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications, Illinois State Historical Society.

There has recently been added to the genealogical collection in the library the following important works on genealogy:

Connecticut—Colonial and Revolutionary Records of Connecticut. Published by the Connecticut Historical Society.

History of Wallingford, Conn., from its settlement in 1670 to the present time, including Meriden, which was one of its parishes until 1806, and Chester, which was incorporated in 1780. Davis, Charles Stanley, M. D., Meriden, Conn., 1870.

Georgia—Colonial Records of Georgia, Vols. 1-17, 1732-1774. Revolutionary Records of Georgia, Vols. 1 and 2, 1769-1785; Candler, Allen D., compiler, Atlanta, Ga. The Franklin-Turner Co., publishers.

History of Georgia, 2 vols.; Jones, Charles C., Jr. Houghton Mifflin & Co., publishers, Boston, 1883.

History of Atlanta, Ga.; Reed, Wallace P., Syracuse, N. Y., 1889. D. Mason & Co., publishers.

History of the Midway Church, Georgia; Stacy, James. Newnan, Ga., 1903.

History of Georgia from its discovery by Europeans to the adoption of the present constitution in 1798; Stevens, (Rev.) William Bacon, M. D., N. Y., 1847. D. Appleton & Co., publishers.

Kentucky—History of the Presbyterian church in Kentucky, with a preliminary sketch of the churches in the valley of Virginia; Davidson, (Rev.) Robert, D. D., N. Y., 1867. Robert Carter, publisher.

Maine—Names of Soldiers of the American Revolution who applied for State bounty under resolves of March 17, 1835, March 24, 1836, and March 20, 1838; House, Charles J., compiler.

Maryland—The Maryland Calendar of Wills from 1635 to 1685, 1685 to 1702. Baldwin, Jane (Jane Baldwin Cotton), compiler, Baltimore, Md., 1904-1906.

Massachusetts—Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth; Davis, William T., Boston, 1883. S. Williams & Co., publishers.

Colonial Society of Massachusetts, publications of, 1895-1900.

Dedham, Mass., Church Records, 1635-1845; Hill, Don Gleason, editor. Dedham, Mass., 1888.

History of Cape Cod, 2 vols.; Freeman, Frederick, Boston, 1858-1862.

History of the town of Duxbury, Mass.; Winsor, Justin, Boston, 1849.

History of the town of Medford, of Middlesex county, Mass., from its first settlement in 1630 to 1855; Usher, James M., compiler, Boston, 1886. Rand, Avery & Co., publishers.

New Hampshire—New Hampshire Provincial and State Papers, Vols. 1-30, 1623-1768.

New Jersey—Documents relating to the Colonial and Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey. Archives of New Jersey. Published by the New Jersey Historical Society.

New Jersey as a Colony and as a State, 4 vols.; Francis Bazley, Lee Publishing Society of New Jersey, 1903.

New York—History of New York during the Revolution. DeLancey, Edward Floyd, editor; 2 vols. New York Historical Society, publishers, 1879.

History of Schoharie county and Border Wars of New York; Simms, Jeptha R., Albany, N. Y., 1845.

Pennsylvania—Snyder County Marriages, 1835-1899; Wagenseller, George W., A. M., compiler, Middleburg, Pa., 1899. Wagenseller Publishing Co.

Rhode Island—Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island, comprising three generations of settlers who came before 1690, with many families carried to the fourth generation; Austin, John Osborn, compiler, Albany, N. Y., 1887. Joel Munsell's Sons, publishers.

Vital Records of Rhode Island, 1636-1850, Vols. 1-15; Arnold, James N., compiler, Providence, R. I., 1891-1906. Narragansett Historical Publishing Co., publishers.

South Carolina—Historical Collections of South Carolina, 2 vols. N. Y., 1836. Harper Bros., publishers. Carroll, B. R., compiler.

History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719; under the Royal Government, 1719-1776. History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780; McCrady, Edward, LL. D., 4 vols. N. Y., 1901-1902, The Macmillan Co., publishers.

History of South Carolina from its First Settlement in 1670, to the year 1808; Ramsay, David, M. D.; 2 vols. Charleston, 1809. Published by David Longworth.

Vermont—History of Bradford, Vt.; McKeen, (Rev.) Silas, D. D. Montpelier, Vt., 1875.

Virginia—Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper County, Va.; Green, Raleigh Travers, compiler, Culpeper, Va., 1900.

Parish Register of Saint Peters, New Kent County, Va., from 1680 to 1787. Va. National Society of Colonial Dames, publishers, Richmond, 1904.

Parish Register of Christ Church, Middlesex County, Va., from 1653 to 1812. Virginia National Society of Colonial Dames, publishers, Richmond, 1897.

Some Prominent Virginia Families; Bellet, Louise Pecquet du; Richmond, 1908.

Virginia County Records, Spotsylvania County, 1721-1800; Crozier, William Armstrong, F. R. S., editor. N. Y., 1905, Fox, Duffield & Co., publishers.

Virginia Colonial Militia, 1651-1776; Crozier, William Armstrong, F. R. S., editor. N. Y., 1905.

GENERAL WORKS.

A List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811; Fothergill, Gerald, London, 1904.

Bibliographia Genealogica Americana—An alphabetical index to American genealogies and pedigrees, etc.; Durrie, Daniel S., Albany, N. Y., 1886. Joel Munsell's Sons, publishers.

Colonial Families of the United States of America; Mackenzie, George Norbury, LL. B., editor. N. Y., 1907, The Grafton Press (there will be future publications).

Society of Colonial Wars, 2 vols., 1899, 1902, 1903, 1906. Published by the Society.

The American Genealogist, being a catalogue of family histories, etc. Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., 1900.

United States Department of Commerce and Labor; Bureau of the Census. Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States taken in the year 1790 in the following States: Connecticut, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Rhode Island, Vermont and Virginia.

The following periodicals:

Virginia Magazine of Biography and History, Vol. I, 1893 to 1908. Richmond, Va.

William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. I, 1892 to 1908. Lyon G. Tyler, ed., Williamsburg, Va.

The Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly, 1898-1908; published in Columbus, O.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE FROM THE ILLINOIS COLORED HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

General Advancement of the Colored People.

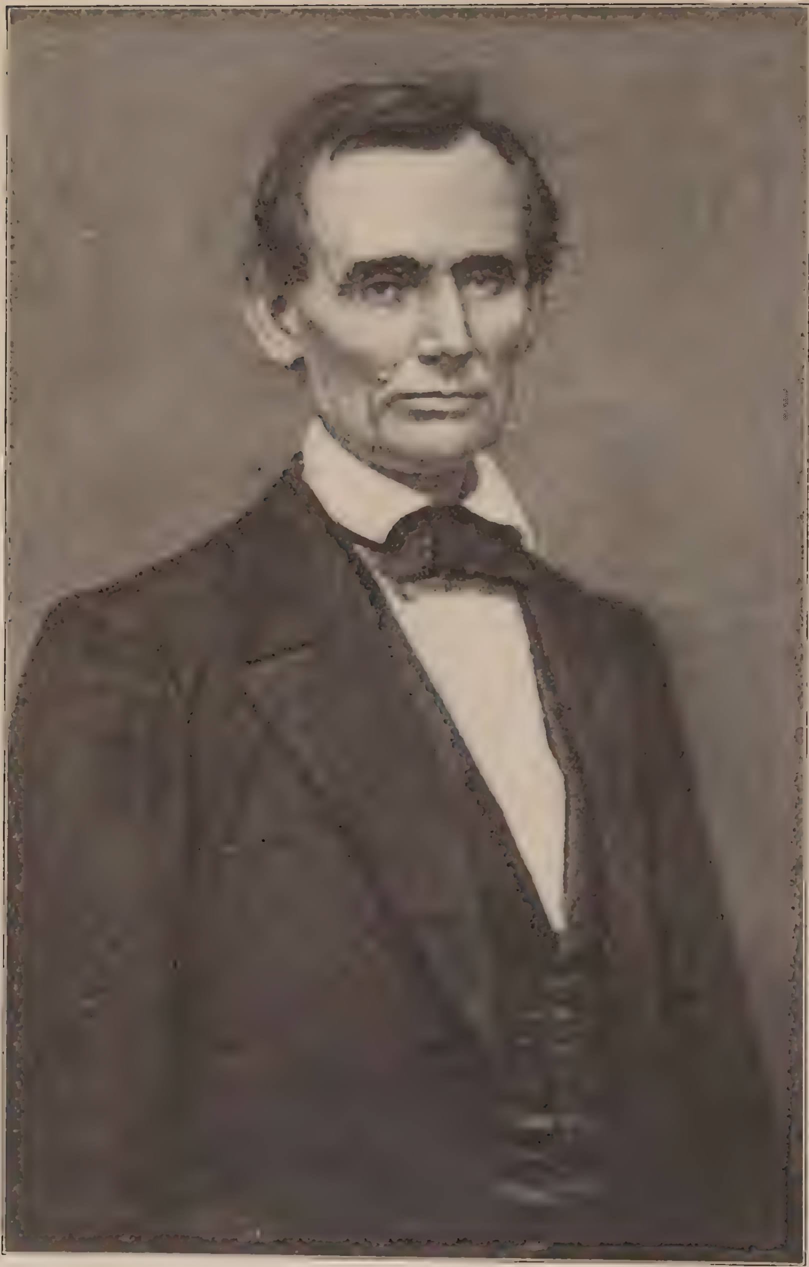
By Martha Hicklin.

The Illinois Colored Historical Society was organized on June 23, 1905, by Dr. J. H. Magee, and this paper gives a summary of the work of this society and the general progress of the colored race throughout the country with particular reference, however, to the city of Springfield, Ill. It contained a list of prominent colored men and women with some account of the responsible positions they occupy. Colored men and women are entering into the various walks of life of the professional and business world and taking a prominent position therein. The paper also contained an account of the charitable and religious activities of the race. The writer spoke in the most hopeful manner of the future of the colored people in America.

PART II.

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

1908



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1854.

By Horace White.

When I was asked to address you on some particular event or feature of Mr. Lincoln's career, I chose the period of 1854, because I then first became acquainted with him and because he then received his first great awakening and showed his countrymen what manner of man he was. His debate with Douglas in 1858 became more celebrated because it focused the attention of a greater audience and led to larger immediate results, but the latter was merely a continuation of the former. The subject of debate was the same in both years, the combatants were the same, and the audiences were in part the same. The contest of 1858 has been more talked about and written about than any other intellectual encounter in our national annals, and that is perhaps another reason why I should address you on the earlier one which was its real beginning.

The Political Situation in 1854.

The year 1854 began in a period of reaction in our politics. In 1848 the Free Soil party had polled nearly 300,000 votes for Martin Van Buren for President. In 1852 its strength had dwindled to about half that number. Franklin Pierce was President, Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, and Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice. Seward, Fish, Sumner, Chase, Fessenden, Toombs and Douglas were the only Senators who are now generally remembered. Two members of the House, Breckenridge and Hendricks became Vice Presidents later; of the remaining 231 members only Banks, Benton, Grow, and Alexander H. Stephens can be readily identified by the present generation. Among the governors of states were Seymour of New York, Grimes of Iowa, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. All the others have dropped below the horizon, but it is doubtful if any of them is more obscure now than Abraham Lincoln was in 1854. He had been a member of Congress for one term, but had been shelved. He had made a speech in the House reviewing the acts of President Polk in bringing on the war with Mexico. It was a good speech. It contained the Lincolnian marks of logical force and felicitous choice of words, but it was not the best speech made on his own side of the House on that subject. The best speech was made by Alexander Stephens of Georgia. So Lincoln himself said in a letter to Herndon dated Washington, February 2, 1848, in these words:

> "Dear William: I just take my pen to say that Mr. Stephens of Georgia, a little, thin, pale-faced, consumptive man, with a voice like Logan's has just concluded the very best speech of an hour's length I ever heard. My old, withered, dry eyes are full of tears yet."

Such praise from such a source prompted me to search the pages of the Congressional Globe and read that speech of a Southern statesman against a war waged in the interest of slavery. I found it replete with legal and constitutional lore, with moral grandeur and righteous indignation, and tinged with such glimpses of battle and death, and needless suffering and sorrow, that I wondered not that Abraham Lincoln at the age of thirty-nine wept over the picture. How little did these two men then think that they were destined to meet in conference seventeen years later, charged with far greater responsibilities in a bloodier conflict.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HENRY CLAY.

Mr. Lincoln was a follower of Henry Clay. On the 16th of July, 1852, he delivered in Springfield a funeral oration on the great Kentuckian in which, among other titles to distinction, he named him as the chief actor in framing and passing the Missouri Compromise act of 1820. The Missouri Compromise was an agreement between the north and the south, in Congress assembled, by which Missouri was admitted to the Union as a slave-holding state on condition that slavery should be forever prohibited in the territory west of Missouri and north of the line of 36° 30′ north latitude. In his eulogy of Clay, Mr. Lincoln quoted a passage of noble eloquence from him in 1827, in which slavery was spoken of as a detestable crime in its origin, and as the product of fraud and violence against the most unfortunate portion of the globe. Then Mr. Lincoln added these words:

> "Pharaoh's country was cursed with plagues and his hosts were lost in the Red Sea for striving to retain a captive people who had already served them more than four hundred years. *May like disasters never befall us!*"

What a fearful looking for, of judgment to come, was there foreshadowed!

In 1852 slavery was not the exciting subject of controversy that it became a few years later, and a Henry Clay Whig in Central Illinois was not likely to catch fire from the torch of Garrison in Boston, or even from that of Elijah Lovejoy in Alton. Nevertheless, Mr. Lincoln's mind was brooding over the abyss, as we discover by some loose scraps of his handwriting which have escaped the tooth of time, and to which I shall allude presently.

REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

On the 4th of January, 1854, Senator Douglas of Illinois reported from the Committee on Territories, a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska, embracing all the country west of the state of Missouri and north of 36° 30′ north latitude. It provided that said territory, or any portion of it, when admitted as a state or states, should be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution might prescribe at the time of their admission. The Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 was not repealed by this provision, and it must have been plain to everybody that if slavery were excluded from the Territory it would not be there when the people should come together to form a State.

Three days later a provision was inserted by Douglas that all questions pertaining to slavery in the territories, and in the new states to be formed therefrom, should be left to the decision of the people residing therein by their representatives to be chosen by them for that purpose. Even this did not repeal the Missouri Compromise. Although it allowed the people while in the territorial condition to talk and vote on slavery in the abstract, it did not open the door to any slaves, nor did it fix any time when the talking and voting on the abstract question should be decisive.

Twelve days after the Nebraska bill was first reported Senator Dixon of Kentucky offered an amendment to repeal the Missouri Compromise outright, and after some resistance Douglas accepted it, and a few days later he brought in a new bill dividing the territory into two parts, Kansas and Nebraska. The object of this division was to give the Missourians a chance to make the southernmost one a slave state, if they could. The Missourians so understood it. In their eyes the Kansas-Nebraska bill was a new Missouri Compromise founded upon the ruins of the old one.

The bill passed both Houses of Congress and became a law May 30, 1854. By its terms it was based upon the principle of "popular sovereignty," or "sacred right of self-government," or "right of the people to govern themselves." Yet it was open to more than one interpretation, since it did not say at what period, or in what manner, the right to admit or reject slavery might be exercised. Should this decision be made by the first one hundred, or one thousand, or ten thousand settlers in the territory? Should the right to determine the question rest with the Territorial Legislature or with a Constitutional Convention, and in the latter case should the Constitution be submitted to a popular vote for ratification or rejection? Only one thing was altogether certain, and that was that the barrier which had excluded slavery from the territory in question had been swept away.

ITS EFFECT UPON LINCOLN.

Herndon tells us that with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise his office discussions with Lincoln on politics became more animated, Lincoln insisting that the differences between freedom and slavery were becoming sharper—that the one must overcome the other, and that postponing the struggle would only make it the more deadly in the end. "The day of compromise," he said, "had passed. These two great ideas had been kept apart only by the most artful means. They were like two wild beasts in sight of each other, but held apart. Some day these deadly antagonists would break their bonds and then the question would be settled."

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise opened Lincoln's eyes to the fact that this country could not endure permanently half slave and half free. His first public expression of that belief was given in Springfield in his speech before the Republican State Convention, June 16, 1858, but he gave private expression to it in 1854. Mr. Frederick Trevor Hill, in his book on Lincoln as a Lawyer, says:

> "Lincoln was attending court on the circuit when the news [of the passage of the Nebraska bill] reached him, and Judge Dickey, one of his fellow practitioners, who was sharing his room in the local tavern at the time, reports that Lincoln sat on the edge of his bed and discussed the political situation far into the night. At last Dickey fell asleep, but when he awoke in the morning Lincoln was sitting up in bed, deeply absorbed in thought. 'I tell you, Dickey,' he observed, as though continuing the argument of the previous evening, 'this nation cannot exist half slave and half free.'"

Thomas Jefferson said something very like this, but in less sententious phrase, in 1820, when the Missouri Compromise was enacted. He then said:

> "A geographical line coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every irritation will mark it deeper and deeper."

Lincoln had quoted these very words from Jefferson in his eulogy on Clay in 1852, yet they did not cause his heart to burn within him—they did not come to him as a revelation—they did not set the American Union before him as a house divided against itself until the Missouri Compromise was actually repealed. The repeal was like a blow on the head, which causes a man to see stars in the daytime.

ITS EFFECT ON THE NORTHERN STATES.

When the Nebraska bill passed there was an explosion in every Northern state. The old parties were rent asunder and a new one began to collect around the nucleus which had supported Hale and Julian in 1852. These elements came together in mass conventions in 1854 in Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin, and voted to form a new party under the name Republican. In Illinois, however, the movement was slower. The elements were too discordant to crystallize readily. Rather more than one-half the population of the State was of Southern birth or descent. These people, whether classed as Whigs or Democrats, were very suspicious of anything which bore the taint of Abolitionism. Hence the men in the northern counties, of New England origin, who were eager to follow the example of their co-workers in the neighboring states, were obliged to consider the situation of their friends in the central and southern counties, and were thus restrained from taking immediate steps to form a new party.

The opponents of the Nebraska bill in Illinois were ranged in three camps, as Whigs, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, and Free-Soilers or Republicans. Of the first Mr. Lincoln soon became the recognized leader. The second was without a distinctive head, but Lyman Trumbull, by the promptness and energy he had shown in combating the Nebraska bill in the St. Clair district, seemed to be the coming man. The Free-Soilers were led by Owen Lovejoy and Ichabod Codding, two Congregational clergymen, whose lips had been touched by a live coal from off the altar of eternal justice.

These men were pre-eminently qualified for the task of moulding the diverse elements of the State into an effective army. At the beginning Lovejoy and Codding were the only ones who were entirely foot-loose and had a clear view of the course before them. The others were constrained by the fogginess of their environment to feel their way and to move with caution. They were fitted for their work because they were in true sympathy with their following. They were successful because they were not precipitate.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

Yet, highly gifted as they were, they had a hard task before them in attempting to unhorse Stephen A. Douglas in Illinois. With him they had grown into some local fame and prominence, but he had distanced them in the race for public preferment and had reached a position of world-wide celebrity, while they were still little known beyond their own bailiwicks. He had achieved this distinction without external aid or prestige; with no powerful friends to give him a start. Nobody ever began the battle of life in humbler surroundings or with smaller pecuniary resources. Yet his advance was so rapid that it seemed as though he had only to ask anything from his fellow citizens in order to have it given to him more abundantly than he desired. He had filled the offices of State's Attorney, member of the Legislature, register of the land office at Springfield, Secretary of State, Judge of the Supreme Court, Representative in Congress, Senator of the United States, and had been a formidable candidate for the Presidency in the Democratic National Convention of 1852.

In Congress, he had taken an active part in the annexation of Texas, in the war with Mexico, in the Oregon boundary dispute, and in the land grant for the Illinois Central Railway. In the Democratic party he had forged to the front by virtue of boldness in leadership, untiring industry, boundless ambition and self-confidence and horse power, engaging manners, great capacity as a party organizer, and unsurpassed powers as an orator and debater. He had a large head, surmounted by an abundant mane, which gave him the appearance of a lion prepared to roar or to crush his prey, and the resemblance was not seldom confirmed when he opened his mouth on the stump or in the Senate chamber. Although patriotic beyond a doubt, he was color blind to moral principles in politics and stone blind to the evils of slavery. In stature he was only five feet four inches high, but he had earned the title of the "Little Giant" before he entered Congress, and he kept it with the concurrence of both friends and enemies till the day of his death. In 1854 he filled the public eye in larger measure than any other American. He was the only man then living who could have carried through Congress a bill to repeal the Missouri Compromise. He was the only northern man who would have had the audacity to propose it. Douglas and Lincoln had been rivals on many occasions and for many things, including the hand of Mary Todd, but Douglas had so completely distanced his competitor in the race for political honors that he hardly regarded him as a factor in the campaign of 1854. He probably considered Lincoln out of politics, as indeed he was until he came back on the crest of a great moral uprising.

LINCOLN COLLECTING HIS THOUGHTS.

I have said that Lincoln's mind was brooding over the abyss which the repeal of the Missouri Compromise had disclosed. Some scraps of his handwriting have been preserved, to which the date of July, 1854, has been assigned in his printed works. They are doubtless part of the contents of his hat, which Herndon tells us was the handy receptacle of the thoughts that he occasionally jotted down and to which he desired to have easy reference. Among these fugitive pieces was the following, dated July, 1854:

> "The ant who has toiled and dragged a crumb to his nest will furiously defend the fruit of his labor against whatever robber assails him. So plain is it that the most dumb and stupid slave that ever toiled for a master does constantly know that he is wronged. So plain that no one, high or low, ever does mistake it, except in a plainly selfish way; for although volume upon volume is written to prove slavery a very good thing, we never hear of a man who wishes to take the good of it by being a slave himself."

Again, same date:

> "We know Southern men declare that their slaves are better off than hired laborers among us. How little they know whereof they speak! There is no permanent class of hired laborers among us. Twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer. The hired laborer of yesterday labors on his own account today and will hire others to labor for him to-morrow."

Again, same date:

> "If A can prove, however conclusively, that he may of right enslave B, why may not B snatch the same argument and prove equally that he may enslave A? You say A is white and B is black. It is color, then; the lighter having the right to enslave the darker? Take care. By this rule you are to be the slave of the first man you meet with a fairer skin than your own. You do not mean color exactly? You mean the whites are intellectually the superiors of the blacks and therefore have the right to enslave them? Take care again. By this rule you are to be the slave of the first man you meet with an intellect superior to your own."

It happened that the Illinois Legislature was in session when Douglas introduced his Nebraska bill. In a letter to Joshua F. Speed, written subsequently, Lincoln said that of the one hundred members of the two Houses, seventy were Democrats and that they held a party caucus to consider the measure. It turned out that only three of the whole number favored the bill. But a day or two later orders came from Douglas directing that resolutions be passed approving it. There was an immediate "flop" on the part of these dissenting statesmen. The resolutions were passed by a large majority, and the party in Illinois thus became committed to the measure—a remarkable instance of the throttling power of party discipline. Three Democratic Senators, however (Judd, Cook and Palmer), refused to endorse the measure. Judd and Cook represented northern counties, where public sentiment was overwhelmingly hostile to the Nebraska bill. Palmer was in a more difficult position. His constitutents were mainly of Southern birth or descent—he was a Kentuckian himself and he represented Macoupin in the Legislature. To the Republican imagination fifty years ago Macoupin was as dark as Erebus. A letter from Lincoln to Palmer dated September 7, 1854, suggesting that since the latter had determined not to swallow the nauseous Nebraska pill, he should make a few public speeches stating his reasons for dissenting, is in the published correspondence of the former.

THE DEBATES OF 1854.

Senator Douglas made his first appearance in Illinois after the passage of his bill on the evening of September 1, 1854, at Chicago. Here he attempted to defend his course in repealing the Missouri Compromise. He had a chilling reception, and his friends asserted that he had been refused a hearing and that the meeting had been broken up by an Abolitionist mob. I was on the platform as a reporter, and my recollection of what happened is still vivid. There was nothing like violence at any time, but there was disorder growing out of the fact that the people had come prepared to dispute Douglas's sophisms and that Douglas himself was far from conciliatory when he found himself facing an unfriendly audience. The meeting was certainly a failure, and Douglas decided to make no more speeches in that part of the State during the campaign.

His next appearance was in Springfield during the week of the State Fair, where the most notable people of the State were assembled. He had announced that he would speak in the large hall of the State House on the 3d of October. As soon as the announcement was made Mr. Lincoln decided to reply to him on the following day from the same platform.

Douglas's justification of his Nebraska bill was that it established the principle of popular sovereignty in the territories as it already existed in the states. Why, he asked, should not the people of the territories have the right to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way? Did they lose any of their rights or capabilities of self-government by migrating from their old homes to new ones? By ringing the changes of popular sovereignty and "sacred right of self-government," he was able to raise a good deal of dust and to obscure the real issue. The fallacy lay in the assumption that property in slaves did not differ from other kinds of property, and that taking negroes to the new territories and holding them there as slaves, was to be regarded in the same way as taking cattle, sheep and swine.

LINCOLN'S SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, OCTOBER 4.

Mr. Lincoln began his speech with an historical sketch of the events leading to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and then took up the fallacy of Douglas's "sacred right of self-government," to which he gave a merciless exposure, turning it over and over, inside and out, stripping off its mask, and presenting it in such light that nobody could fail to see the deception embodied in it. Such an exposition necessarily involved a discussion of slavery in all its aspects, and here for the first time do we find any broad and resounding statement of Mr. Lincoln's own attitude toward the institution. Here perhaps was the first distinct occasion for his making such a statement. He had voted in Congress some forty times for the Wilmot Proviso, so that his opposition to the extension of slavery into the territories was not doubtful. As a stump speaker he had languidly supported the compromise measures of 1850. But until now there had been no occasion which imperatively called upon him to declare his position on the slavery question as a national political issue.

Such a call had now come, and he did not hesitate to tell the whole truth as he understood it. The telling of it makes this speech one of the imperishable political discourses of our history, if not of all time. It is superior to Webster's reply to Hayne, because its theme is loftier and its scope wider. The keynote of Webster's speech was patriotism—the doctrine of self-government crystallized in the Federal Union; that of Lincoln's was patriotism plus humanity, the humanity of the negro whose place in the family of man was denied, either openly or tacitly, by the supporters of the Nebraska bill. I think also that Lincoln's speech is the superior of the two as an example of English style. It lacks something of the smooth, compulsive flow which takes the intellect captive in the Websterian diction, but it excels in the simplicity, directness and lucidity which appeal both to the intellect and to the heart.

I heard the whole of that speech. It was a warmish day in early October, and Mr. Lincoln was in his shirt sleeves when he stepped on the platform. I observed that, although awkward, he was not in the least embarrassed. He began in a slow and hesitating manner, but without any mistakes of language, dates, or facts. It was evident that he had mastered his subject, that he knew what he was going to say, and that he knew he was right. He had a thin, high-pitched falsetto voice of much carrying power, that could be heard a long distance in spite of the bustle and tumult of a crowd. He had the accent and pronunciation peculiar to his native state, Kentucky. Gradually he warmed up with his subject, his angularity disappeared, and he passed into that attitude of unconscious majesty that is so conspicuous in Saint-Gauden's statue at the entrance of Lincoln Park in Chicago. I have often wondered how this artist, who never saw the subject of his work, could have divined his presence and his dignity as a public speaker so perfectly.

His Impassioned Utterances.

Progressing with his theme, his words began to come faster and his face to light up with the rays of genius and his body to move in unison with his thoughts. His gestures were made with his body and head rather than with his arms. They were the natural expression of the man, and so perfectly adapted to what he was saying that anything different from it would have been quite inconceivable. Sometimes his manner was very impassioned, and he seemed transfigured with his subject.

Perspiration would stream from his face, and each particular hair would stand on end. Then the inspiration that possessed him took possession of his hearers also. His speaking went to the heart because it came from the heart. I have heard celebrated orators who could start thunders of applause without changing any man's opinion. Mr. Lincoln's eloquence was of the higher type, which produced conviction in others because of the conviction of the speaker himself. His listeners felt that he believed every word he said, and that, like Martin Luther, he would go to the stake rather than abate one jot or tittle of it. In such transfigured moments as these he was the type of the ancient Hebrew prophet as I learned that character at Sunday-school in my childhood.

That there were, now and then, electrical discharges of high tension in Lincoln's eloquence is a fact little remembered, so few persons remain who ever came within its range. The most remarkable outburst took place at the Bloomington Convention of May 29, 1856, at which the anti-Nebraska forces of Illinois were first collected and welded together as one party. Mr. John L. Scripps, editor of the Chicago Democratic Press, who was present—a man of gravity little likely to be carried off his feet by spoken words—said:

> "Never was an audience more completely electrified by human eloquence. Again and again during its delivery they sprang to their feet and upon the benches and testified by long-continued shouts and the waving of hats how deeply the speaker had wrought upon their minds and hearts. It fused the mass of hitherto incongruous elements into perfect homogeneity; and from that day to the present they have worked together in harmonious and fraternal union."

The speech of 1854 made so profound an impression on me that I feel under its spell to this day. It is known in history as Mr. Lincoln's Peoria speech. Although first delivered in Springfield on October 4, it was repeated twelve days later at Peoria. Mr. Lincoln did not use a scrap of paper on either occasion, but he wrote it out afterwards at the request of friends and published it in successive numbers of the weekly *Sangamon Journal* at Springfield. In like manner were the orations of Cicero preserved. In this way has been preserved for us the most masterly forensic utterance of the whole slavery controversy, as I think.

THE HUMANITY OF THE NEGRO.

Where the whole is of uniform excellence it is not easy to make extracts, but I shall make one or two, the first one touching the theme of the humanity of the negro, which the Douglas doctrine of "popular sovereignty" ignored:

> "The great majority, South as well as North (he said), have human sympathies, of which they can no more divest themselves than they can of their sensibility to physical pain. These sympathies, in the bosoms of the Southern people, manifest, in many ways, their sense of the wrong of slavery and their consciousness that, after all, there is humanity in the negro. If they deny this let me address them a few plain questions. In 1820 you joined the North in declaring the African slave trade piracy and annexing to it the punishment of death. Why did you do this? If you did not feel that it was

wrong why did you join in providing that men should be hung for it? The practice was no more than bringing wild negroes from Africa to such as would buy them. But you never thought of hanging men for catching and selling wild horses, wild buffaloes, or wild cattle.

"Again, you have among you a sneaking individual of the class of native tyrants known as the slave-dealer. He watches your necessities and crawls up to buy your slave at a speculating price. If you cannot help it you will sell to him, but if you can help it you drive him from your door. You despise him utterly. You do not recognize him as a friend or even as an honest man. Your children must not play with his; they may rollick freely with the little negroes, but not with the slave-dealer's children. If you are obliged to deal with him, you try to get through with the job without so much as touching him. It is common with you to join hands with the men you meet, but with the slave-dealer you avoid the ceremony—instinctively shrinking from the snaky contact. If he grows rich and retires from business you still remember him and still keep up the ban of non-intercourse upon him and his family. You do not so treat the man who deals in corn, cotton, or tobacco.

"And yet again. There are in the United States and Territories, including the District of Columbia, 433,643 free blacks. At five hundred dollars per head they are worth over two hundred millions of dollars. How comes this vast amount of property to be running about without owners? We do not see free horses or free cattle running at large. How is this? All these free blacks are the descendants of slaves or have been slaves themselves; and they would be slaves now but for something which has operated on their white owners inducing them at vast pecuniary sacrifice to liberate them. Is there any mistaking it? In all these cases it is your sense of justice and human sympathy continually telling you that the poor negro has some natural right to himself and that those who make mere merchandise of him deserve kicking, contempt, and death.

"And now why will you ask us to deny the humanity of the slave and estimate him only as the equal of the hog? Why ask us to do for nothing what two hundred millions of dollars could not induce you to do?"

Another striking feature of this speech was the spirit of sympathy and justice shown toward the Southern whites. He said:

"They are just what we should be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us we should not instantly give it up * * * When the Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists and that it is very difficult to get rid of in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the same. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me I should not know what to do with the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves and send them to Liberia, to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days. * * * But all this, to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory than it would for reviving the African slave trade by law."

Senator Douglas sat on a front bench within ten or twelve feet of Lincoln during the whole of the latter's speech.

FIRST STEPS TO ORGANIZE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

William H. Herndon was an Abolitionist like Owen Lovejoy. Lovejoy himself was present at this State Fair gathering, and he, too, heard the Lincoln-Douglas debate. As soon as Lincoln had concluded his speech Lovejoy or Codding moved forward from the crowd and announced that a meeting of the friends of freedom would be held that evening. The object in view was to take steps to organize the Republican party in Illinois as it had already been organized in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Ohio. Herndon perceived at once that the atmosphere of central Illinois was not yet tempered to such a movement. He knew that Lovejoy and the fiery souls allied with him could not be restrained, and that they intended to invite Lincoln personally to come to their meeting and say something cheering to them. He feared also that if Lincoln did not come they would be offended and perhaps turn against him in the coming contest for the Senatorship.

So he sought Lincoln at once, and urged him to get into his buggy and drive to Tazewell county under pretence of having professional business there, and to stay away from Springfield till this crowd of radicals should disperse to the several homes. Lincoln did so. He kept out of Springfield until the radicals had finished their work. But they put his name on a list of members of a Republican State Committee without consulting him, and a little later Mr. Codding sent him a notice to attend a meeting of this committee. Lincoln replied to Codding in a letter dated November 27, 1854, asking why his name had been used without his consent. He said he supposed that his opposition to slavery was as strong as that of any member of the Republican party, but that the extent to which he was prepared to carry that opposition practically was probably not satisfactory to the gentlemen composing the meeting. As the leading men who were seeking to organize that party were present on the 4th of October at the discussion between Douglas and himself, he wished to know whether they had misunderstood him or whether he had misunderstood them. What answer Codding made, if any, we are not informed. But we know that Lovejoy was elected a member of the Legislature in November and that he voted for Lincoln for Senator.

LINCOLN KEEPS OUT OF IT IN 1854.

Although Lincoln kept out of this pitfall in the manner indicated, Douglas met with a mishap in consequence of it. In the Ottawa joint debate four years later he began his attack on Lincoln with a reference to the meeting which Lovejoy and Codding had brought together immediately after the Springfield debate of October, 1854. Finding Lincoln's name in the list of members of the Republican State Committee there appointed, he assumed that Lincoln had been present and had taken part in the proceedings. So he wrote to Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the *Register,* the Democratic organ at Springfield, asking for a copy of the resolution passed at the meeting. Lanphier replied by sending him two copies of the *Register* of October 16, 1854, which purported to give a brief report of the meeting, including a copy of the resolutions in full. But, for some reason, a different set of resolutions had been substituted for the real ones in the *Register's* report. The bogus resolutions demanded, among other things, an entire repeal of the fugitive slave law. The real resolutions contained no such demand. There were also other material differences. Lincoln came to the conclusion eventually that Lanphier himself had made the substitution in order to help Thomas L. Harris in his local Congressional campaign against Richard Yates, and that when Douglas, four years later, called for a copy of the resolutions, he had forgotten the circumstances of the change. At all events, the resolutions were substantially a forgery. They had been passed at some irresponsible gathering in Kane county and had been substituted for the real resolutions of the Springfield meeting. Douglas was not a party to the forgery, but, as it turned out, was the principal victim of it.

Douglas' Mistake.

At the Ottawa joint debate (1858) he read the bogus report, and proceded with an air of triumph to apply it as a blister upon Lincoln in the presence of the assembled thousands. It was easy for Lincoln to reply that he was not at the Codding-Lovejoy Convention at all and that he had no responsibility for any action taken there. He supposed that the resolutions read by Douglas had been actually passed at the Springfield meeting. He did not learn the truth until some days later. At the Freeport joint debate, however, he came armed with the real facts, and Douglas was then thrown on the defensive and made a rather sorry figure. He succeeded, however, in clearing his own skirts of any part in the forgery, and he promised that on his next visit to Springfield he would make a more thorough investigation of the matter. Several weeks passed without any further reference to the bogus resolutions on either side. Lincoln kept his eye on Douglas' movements, however, and observed that the latter made a visit to Springfield early in September. As no report of the promised investigation had been made when they met at the Galesburg joint debate (October 7), Lincoln made a scathing résumé of the whole affair, to the serious discomfiture of his antagonist.*

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* The genuine and the bogus resolutions are subjoined:

GENUINE RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That as freedom is national and slavery sectional and local, the absence of all law on the subject of slavery presumes the existence of a state of *freedom alone*, while slavery exists only by virtue of positive law.

That slavery can exist in a Territory only by usurpation and in violation of law, and we believe that Congress has the right and should prohibit its extension into such territory, so long as it remains under the guardianship of the general government.

BOGUS RESOLUTION.

Resolved, That the times imperatively demand the reorganization of parties, and repudiating all previous party attachments, names and predilections, we unite ourselves together in defence of the liberty and Constitution of

Twelve days after the Springfield debate of 1854 the two champions met again at Peoria. Douglas was evidently troubled by the unexpected vigor of his opponent, for after the Peoria debate he approached Lincoln and flattered him by saying that he was giving him more trouble on the territorial and slavery question than the whole United States Senate, and therefore proposed that both should abandon the field and return to their homes. Lincoln consented. Douglas, however, broke the agreement by making a speech at Princeton on the evening of the 18th of October. He afterwards said that he didn't want to speak at Princeton, but that Lovejoy provoked him and forced him to do so in self-defense. Lincoln was not satisfied with that explanation, but he considered himself released from the agreement, and accordingly spoke at Urbana on the evening of the 24th.

THE URBANA SPEECH.

Henry C. Whitney heard the Urbana speech. He gives an account of it in his book, "Life on the Circuit with Lincoln." Whitney was a resident of Urbana. He says that he called at the old Pennsylvania House on the east side of the public square on the evening of the 24th, and that he there found Mr. Lincoln and David Davis in a plainly furnished bedroom with a comfortable wood fire. It was his first meeting with either of them. He was received cordially by both. Lincoln was in his story-telling humor, and after some time spent in that way they went over to the court house opposite, where eleven tallow candles, burning on the lower sashes of the windows, gave a sign of something unusual going on in the town. The house was full of people, and Lincoln then and there made his third speech on the mighty issue of slavery. Whitney was impressed, as I had been twenty days earlier, that he had been listening to "a mental and moral giant." The three men went back to the hotel together, and Lincoln resumed his story-telling at the point where he had left off, "as if the making of such a speech as this was his pastime."

Although speech-making had now come to an end, the campaign continued. Lincoln and his friend, Stephen T. Logan, were nominated for members of the lower house of the Legislature from Sangamon county. Lincoln had protested against the use of his name, but had finally yielded to the importunities of his friends, who urged that the party ought to bring forward its very strongest men. That this was a sound view was shown by what followed. Lincoln and Logan were elected by about 600 majority. Then Lincoln resigned his seat in order to improve his chances

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* the country, and will hereafter coöperate as the Republican party pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes: To bring the administration of the government back to the control of first principles; to restore Nebraska and Kansas to the position of free Territories; that as the Constitution of the United States vests in the States and not in Congress the power to legislate for the extradition of fugitives from labor, to repeal and entirely abrogate the fugitive slave law; to restrict slavery to those States in which it exists; to prohibit the admission of any more slave States into the Union; to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; to exclude slavery from all the Territories over which the government has exclusive jurisdiction; and to resist the acquirement of any more Territories, unless the practice of slavery therein forever shall have been prohibited.

in the coming Senatorial contest. Looking at the large majority cast at the regular election for the Whig candidates, he did not doubt that at the special election a Whig would be chosen. But the very opposite thing happened. The day for voting turned out to be cold and rainy. The Democrats pretended to take no interest in the special election, but secretly contrived to bring out their full strength, and thus elected their candidate by eighty-two votes. This made a difference of two in the Legislature, where there were no votes to spare.

Struggle for the Senatorship in 1854-5.

Notwithstanding this mishap, Lincoln made an active canvas for the Senatorship. The term of James Shields was expiring, and Douglas was moving heaven and earth to secure his re-election. Shields had supported the Nebraska bill in a lukewarm way as a Democratic party measure, but he professed to take no special interest in it. He was an Irish soldier of fortune, and a very winning one personally. He was twice elected Senator of the United States after he lost his seat from Illinois—once from Minnesota and again from Missouri. It seemed as though he only needed to show himself in any state where a Senatorial vacancy existed in order to be promptly chosen to fill it.

As soon as the legislative returns were in, Lincoln made an estimate of the chances. He concluded that there was an anti-Nebraska majority of one in the State Senate and of thirteen in the House. He wrote letters to the members whom he personally knew, soliciting their votes, and he sought to reach others by the influence of friends, especially Elihu B. Washburne and Joseph Gillespie. Ideal justice certainly demanded that he be elected if the anti-Nebraska forces had a majority. Such a majority existed, but it was heterogeneous. All the varieties and discordances of opinion that existed in the State cropped up in the Legislature, including some whose existence had not been suspected. Some men who had been elected on the anti-Nebraska ticket actually voted for Shields on grounds of personal friendship. Even that was not the strangest or the most baffing element in the mixture, for Lincoln discovered ten days before the voting began that Joel A. Matteson, Governor of the State, had an ambition to fill Shield's place in the Senate and that he had been able to recruit a small third party composed of members from the vicinity of the Illinois and Michigan canal who were devoted to his personal interests. Any such votes, if obtained, would be detached from Lincoln, and their movement would be made comparatively easy by the fact that Matteson had never committed himself either for or against the Nebraska bill. So his supporters could say or pretend that Matteson was as much opposed to it as Lincoln himself. The supporters of Shields, if they should find it impossible to re-elect him, would naturally turn to Matteson. Although Lincoln and his friends had ample warning of this Matteson diversion, they were utterly unable to head it off.

A Heterogeneous Legislature.

The Legislature consisted of one hundred members—twenty-five Senators and seventy-five Representatives. Thirteen of the Senators had been elected in 1852 for a four years' term and were now holding over. Among these were John M. Palmer of Carlinville, N. B. Judd of Chicago, and Burton C. Cook of Ottawa, all of whom had been elected as Democrats, but had refused to follow Douglas in support of the Nebraska bill. These three men, with two Representatives from Madison county, named Baker and Allen, voted for Lyman Trumbull on every ballot. Trumbull had just been elected a member of Congress in the St. Clair district on the anti-Nebraska ticket. The first mention of his name in Lincoln's printed correspondence is found in a letter to Joseph Gillespie dated December 1, 1854, in which he (Lincoln) asked the question "whether Trumbull intends to make a push." Then he adds: "We have the Legislature clearly enough on joint ballot, but the Senate is very close, and Cullom told me today that the Nebraska men will stave off the election if they can. Even if we get into joint vote we shall have difficulty to unite our forces."

The State Senate consisted of nine Whigs, thirteen regular Democrats, and the three anti-Nebraska Democrats above named. One of the holding-over Senators (Uri Osgood) represented a district which had given an anti-Nebraska majority in this election. One of the Whig members (J. L. D. Morrison of the St. Clair-Monroe district was elected on the same ticket with Trumbull, but he was a man of Southern leanings, and his vote on the Senatorial question was considered doubtful.

The Whig Senators, in order to conciliate the anti-Nebraska Democrats, voted to give the entire patronage of the Senate to them, including good slices to Osgood and Morrison. In this way they secured an agreement to go into joint convention, but they got no other *quid pro quo;* for in the Senatorial election both Osgood and Morrison voted for Shields. In the House there were forty-six anti-Nebraska men of all descriptions and twenty-eight Democrats. One member, Randolph Heath of the Lawrence-Crawford district, did not vote in the election for Senator at any time.

In the chaotic condition of parties it was not to be expected that all the opponents of Douglas would coalesce at once. The chief obstacle to such union was the dividing line between Whigs and Democrats. The Whig party was expecting to reap large gains from the split in the Democratic party on the Nebraska question. This was a vain hope, because the Whigs were split also, but while it existed it fanned the flame of old enmities. Moreover, the anti-Nebraska Democrats in the campaign had claimed that they were the true Democracy and that they were purifying the party in order to preserve it intact and give it new strength and vitality. They could not instantly abandon that claim by voting for a Whig for the highest office to be filled.

TRUMBULL ELECTED SENATOR.

The two houses met in the hall of Representatives on February 8, 1855, to choose a Senator. Every inch of space on the floor and lobby was occupied by members and their political friends, and the gallery was adorned by well-dressed women, including Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Matteson, the Governor's wife, and her fair daughters. The Senatorial election had been the topic of chief concern throughout the State for many months and now the interest was centered in a single room not more than one hundred feet square. The excitement was all-prevading, for everybody knew that the event was fraught with consequences of great pith and moment, far transcending the fate of any individual.

Mr. Lincoln had been designated as the choice of a caucus of forty-five members, including all the Whigs except Morrison and most of the Free-Soilers.

When the joint convention had been called to order General James Shields was nominated by Senator Benjamin Graham, Abraham Lincoln by Representative Stephen T. Logan, and Lyman Trumbull by Senator John M. Palmer. The first vote resulted as follows:

Necessary to a choice, 50—	
Lincoln	45
Shields	41
Trumbull	5
Scattering	8
Total	99

Several members of the House, who had been elected as anti-Nebraska Democrats, voted for Lincoln and a few for Shields. The vote for Trumbull consisted of Senators Palmer, Judd and Cook, and Representatives Baker and Allen.

On the second vote Lincoln had 43 and Trumbull 6, and there were no other changes. A third roll call resulted like the second. Thereupon Judge Logan moved an adjournment, but this was voted down by 42 to 56. On the fourth call Lincoln's vote fell to 38 and Trumbull's rose to 11. On the sixth, Lincoln lost two more and Trumbull dropped eight.

It now became apparent from the commotion on the Democratic side of the chamber that the Matteson flank-movement was in progress, for the seventh ballot resulted as follows:

Necessary to a choice, 50—	
Matteson	44
Lincoln	38
Trumbull	9
Scattering	7
Total	98

On the eighth call Matteson gained two votes, Lincoln fell to 27, and Trumbull received 18. On the ninth and tenth Matteson had 47, Lincoln dropped to 15, and Trumbull rose to 35.

The excitement now became intense, for it was believed that the next vote would be decisive. Matteson wanted only three of a majority, and the only way to prevent his election was to turn Lincoln's fifteen to

Trumbull, or Trumbull's thirty-five to Lincoln. Obviously the former proposition was the only safe one, for none of Lincoln's men would go to Matteson in any kind of shuffle, whereas three of Trumbull's Democratic friends might easily be lost if an attempt were made to transfer them to the leader of the Whigs. Lincoln was quick to see the impending danger and to apply the remedy. He was the only one who could apply it, since the fifteen supporters who still clung to him would never have left him except at his own request. He now besought his friends to vote for Trumbull. Some natural tears were shed by Judge Logan when he yielded to the appeals of his dear friend and former partner. Logan said that the demands of principle were superior to those of personal attachment, and he transferred his vote to Trumbull. All of the remaining fourteen followed his example, and there was a gain of one vote that had been previously cast for Archibald Williams. So the tenth and final roll call gave Trumbull fifty-one votes and Matteson forty-seven. One member (Waters) still voted for Williams and one (Heath) did not vote at all. Thus the one hundred members of the joint convention were accounted for, and Trumbull became Senator by a majority of one.

This result astounded the Democrats. They were more disappointed by it than they would have been by the election of Lincoln. They regarded Trumbull as an arch traitor. That he and his fellow traitors, Palmer, Judd and Cook, should have carried off the great prize was an unexpected and most bitter pill, but they did not know how bitter it was until Trumbull took his seat in the Senate and opened fire on the Nebraska iniquity.

LINCOLN SATISFIED WITH THE RESULT.

Lincoln took his defeat in good part. Later in the evening there was a reception given at the house of Mr. Ninian W. Edwards, whose wife was a sister of Mrs. Lincoln, and who had been much interested in Lincoln's success. He was greatly surprised to hear, just before the guests began to arrive, that Trumbull had been elected. He and his family were easily reconciled to the result, however, since Mrs. Trumbull had been from her girlhood, as Miss Julia Jayne, a favorite in Springfield society. When she and Judge Trumbull arrived they were naturally the centre of attraction. Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln came in a little later. The hostess and her husband greeted them most cordially, saying that they had wished for his success, and that while he must be disappointed yet he should bear in mind that his principles had won. Mr. Lincoln smiled, moved toward the newly elected Senator, and saying, "Not too disappointed to congratulate my friend Trumbull," shook him warmly by the hand. Mr. Lincoln's own testimony as to the facts and his own feelings regarding them are set forth at length, and quite minutely, in a letter to Elihu B. Washburne, dated February 9, 1855, the next day after the election. He says in conclusion: "I regret my defeat moderately, but am not nervous about it. I could have headed off every combination and been elected had it not been for Matteson's double game—and his defeat now gives me more pleasure than my own gives me pain. On the whole it is perhaps as well for our general cause that Trumbull is elected."

And so it seems to me now. Lincoln's defeat was my first great disappointment in politics, and I was slow in forgiving Judd, Palmer and Cook for their share in bringing it about. But before the campaign of 1858 came on I was able to see that they had acted wisely and well. They had not only satisfied their own constituents, and led many of them into the new Republican organization, but they had given a powerful reinforcement to the party of freedom in the nation at large, in the person of Lyman Trumbull, whose high abilities and noble career in the Senate paved the way for thousands of recruits from the ranks of the Democratic party.

PERSONAL ASSOCIATION WITH LINCOLN.

As I have already remarked, my personal acquaintance with Lincoln began in 1854. I had just passed my twentieth birthday. I was introduced to him shortly before he rose to make the speech which has been here feebly described. I had studied his countenance a few moments beforehand, when his features were in repose. It was a marked face, but so overspread with sadness that I thought that Shakespeare's melancholy Jacques had been translated from the forest of Arden to the capital of Illinois. Yet when I was presented to him and we began a few words of conversation this expression of sorrow dropped from him instantly. His face lighted up with a winning smile, and where I had a moment before seen only leaden sorrow I now beheld keen intelligence, genuine kindness of heart, and the promise of true friendship.

After this introduction it was my fortune during the next four years to meet him several times each year, as his profession brought him frequently to Chicago, where I was employed in journalism. I became Secretary of the Republican State Committee and was thus thrown into closer intercourse with him, and thus I learned that he was an exceedingly shrewd politician. N. B. Judd, Dr. C. H. Ray and Ebenezer Peck were the leading party managers, but Lincoln was a frequent visitor at the campaign headquarters, and on important occasions he was specially sent for. The committee paid the utmost deference to his opinions. In fact, he was nearer to the people than they were. Traveling the circuit, he was constantly brought in contact with the most capable and discerning men in the rural community. He had a more accurate knowledge of public opinion in central Illinois than any other man who visited the committee rooms, and he knew better than anybody else what kind of arguments would be influential with the voters and what kind of men could best present them.

I learned also by this association that he was extremely eager for political preferment. This seemed to me then, as it does now, perfectly proper. Nor did I ever hear any criticism visited upon him on account of his personal ambition. On the contrary, his merits placed him so far in advance that nothing was deemed too good for him. Nobody was jealous of him. Everybody in the party desired for him all the preferment that he could possibly desire for himself. In the great campaign of 1858 I travelled with him almost constantly for four months, the particulars of which journeying I have related in the second edition of Herndon's "Life of Lincoln." After his election as President I was sent by my employers to Washington City as correspondent of the Chicago *Press and Tribune,* and thus I had occasional meetings with him until very near the day of his death. In short, I was privileged to be within the range of his personal influence during the last eleven years of his life, when he was making history and when history was making him.

Lincoln as a Humorist and a Moralist.

Mr. Lincoln was a many-sided man and one who presented striking contrasts. He was the most humorous being I ever met, and also one of the most serious. His humor was of the impromptu and contagious kind that takes possession of all parts of the person as well as all the parts of speech. As a master of drollery, he surpassed all of his contemporaries in Illinois, and yet his solemnity as a public speaker and a political and moral instructor was like that of an Old Testament prophet. He was the only public speaker I have ever known thus doubly gifted, whose powers of mirth did not submerge or even impair his powers of gravity. "He combined within himself," says Mr. Henry C. Whitney, "the strangely diverse roles of head of the State in the agony of civil war, and also that of the court jester; and was supremely eminent in both characters." This sounds like a paradox, but it is quite true. The Lincoln who fought Douglas on the stump in 1854 and 1858 took all of his jocose as well as his serious traits to Washington in 1861.

How are we to account for these wonderful turns "from grave to gay, from lively to severe?" Well, he was not the only person thus doubly endowed. The same genius that gave us Macbeth, and Lear, and Hamlet, gave us Falstaff, and Touchstone, and Dogberry. Shakespeare was the superior of Sophocles in tragedy and of Plautus in comedy. Lincoln did not have the gift of poetry, but within the range of prose his power of expression was akin to that of Shakespeare. I chanced to open the other day his Cooper Institute speech. This is one of the few printed speeches that I did not hear him deliver in person. As I read the concluding pages of that speech, the conflict of opinion that preceded the conflict of arms then sweeping upon the country like an approaching solar eclipse, seemed prefigured like a chapter of the Book of Fate. Here again he was the Old Testament prophet, before whom Horace Greeley bowed his head, saying that he had never listened to a greater speech, although he had heard several of Webster's best.

As an Anti-Slavery Orator.

The subject of human slavery, which formed the principal theme of Mr. Lincoln's speech, has touched many lips with eloquence and lighted many hearts with fire. I listened to most of the great anti-slavery orators of the last half century, including Wendell Phillips, Owen Lovejoy, and Henry Ward Beecher, but I must say that Abraham Lincoln, who was not classed as an anti-slavery orator, or even an anti-slavery man, before he issued the Emancipation Proclamation, made a stronger anti-slavery impression upon me than any of them.

The reason why he was not reckoned by the anti-slavery men as one of themselves was that he made the preservation of the Union, not the destruction of slavery, his chief concern. But he held then, as he did later, that the Union must be preserved consistently with the Constitution and with the rule of the majority. Preserving it by infringing these, was, in his view, an agreement to destroy it.

Mr. Lincoln quickly gained the confidence of strangers, and, if they were much with him, their affection as well. I found myself strongly drawn to him from the first, and this feeling remains to me now as a priceless possession. James Russell Lowell said that he counted it a great gain to have lived at the same time with Abraham Lincoln. How much greater the gain to have felt the subtle influence of his presence. This personal quality whose influence I saw growing and widening among the people of Illinois from day to day, eventually penetrated to all the northern states, and after his death, to all the southern states. It was this magical personality that commanded all loyal hearts. It was this leadership that upheld confidence in the dark hours of the war and sent back to the White House the sublime refrain:

"We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more."

Could any other man then living have grappled the affections and confidence of the plain people and held them steadfast and unwavering as did this homely giant of the prairies? He was himself one of the plain people. What was in his mind and heart was in theirs. He spoke straight into their bosoms. He translated the weightiest political and social problems this country has ever dealt with into language that all could understand. Nobody was so humble, nobody so high, that he could not draw new lessons and fresh inspiration from Abraham Lincoln during that great crisis.

Looking back upon the whole anti-slavery conflict, is it not a cause for wonder that the man who finally led the nation through the Red Sea and gave his own life at the very entrance of the promised land, was born in a slave state, of the most humble parents, in crushing poverty, and in the depths of ignorance, and had reached the age of fifty before he was much known outside of his own state? Was there ever such unpromising material from which to fashion the destroyer of American slavery?

Lincoln's Growing Fame.

Abraham Lincoln has been in his grave more than forty-two years. When he was stricken down by an assassin's hand it was said by many of his contemporaries, and perhaps believed by most of them, that he had passed away at the culminating point of his fame.

The world's history contains nothing more dramatic than the scene in Ford's Theatre. The civil war, the emancipation of a race, the salvation of our beloved Union, combined to throw the strongest light upon "the deep damnation of his taking off." In spite of these blazing accessories, we should have expected, before the end of forty-two years, that a considerable amount of dust would have settled upon his tomb. This is a busy world. Each generation has its own problems to grapple with, its own joys and sorrows, its own cares and griefs, to absorb its thoughts and compel its tears. Time moves on, and while the history of the past increases in volume, each particular thing in it dwindles in size, and so also do most men. But some men bulk larger as the years recede.

The most striking fact of our time, of a psychological kind, is the growth of Lincoln's fame since the earth closed over his remains. The word Lincolniana has been added to our dictionary. This means that a kind of literature under that name, extensive enough to be separately classified, catalogued, advertised, marketed, and collected into distinct libraries, has grown up. There is a Lincolnian cult among us as well as a Shakesperian cult, and it is gaining votaries from year to year. The first list of Lincoln literature was published by William V. Spencer, in Boston, in 1865. It included 231 titles of books and pamphlets published after Lincoln's death, all of which were in the compiler's possession. This was followed in 1866 by John Russell Bartlett's "Literature of the Rebellion," including in a separate list 300 titles of Eulogies, Sermons, Orations, and Poems, all published after Lincoln's death. In 1870 Andrew Boyd, a directory publisher of Albany, N. Y., published his "Memorial Lincoln Bibliography," an octavo volume of 175 pages, in which he gave the title and description of the books, pamphlets, and relics then in his own collection. The introduction to this bibliography was written by Charles Henry Hart, still living at Philadelphia. This collection was sold to Major William H. Lambert of Philadelphia, whose collection of Lincolniana is now one of the most important in the country, and especially in autograph letters. Major Lambert was a soldier in the civil war and is the author of a most interesting address on the life and character of Lincoln, delivered before his fellow soldiers of the G. A. R. His collection embraces about 1,200 bound volumes, including separately bound pamphlets, about 100 autograph letters and documents of Lincoln, fifty broadsides, and many miscellaneous pieces.

LINCOLNIAN LITERATURE.

A Lincoln bibliography was compiled by Mr. Daniel Fish of Minneapolis and published in the year 1900. It was revised, enlarged, and republished in 1906, containing 1,080 separate titles. It does not include periodical literature, or political writings of the period in which Lincoln lived unless they owe their origin to him as an individual. Judge Fish has in his own collection of Lincolniana 295 bound volumes, 559 pamphlets, and 100 portraits.

Mr. Judd Stewart of Plainfield, N. J., has a very notable collection of Lincolniana, embracing 380 bound volumes, about 1,200 bound pamphlets, several unpublished letters, between 700 and 800 engravings, lithographs and paintings, and many songs and pieces of sheet music. All of these items have been passed upon by Judge Fish as purely Lincolniana. Mr. Stewart has more than 100 titles which are not included in Fish's bibliography.

A very remarkable collection is that of John E. Burton of Milwaukee, Wis., consisting of 2,360 bound volumes and pamphlets, the collection of which, Mr. Burton says, "has been the restful and happy labor of twenty-eight years." Among other things he has the original proclamation of emancipation signed by Lincoln and Seward and attested by John G. Nicolay and John Hay.

Mr. Charles W. McLellan of Champlain, N. Y., has 1,921 bound volumes, 1,348 pamphlets, eight manuscripts, 138 autographs of Lincoln, 1,100 engravings, and 579 songs and miscellaneous pieces, in all more than 5,000 items.

Mr. D. H. Newhall of 59 Maiden Lane, New York, has a list of 487 collectors of Lincolniana, for the most part unknown to each other, who are now living; that is, persons who have such collections and who are constantly adding to them. I have corresponded with some of them. Mr. E. M. Bowman of Alton, Ill., has 247 titles of bound and unbound books and pamphlets; Mr. John S. Little of Rushville, Ill., has 257, and so on.

The existence of a demand for Lincolniana creates a supply. There are dealers in it, some of whom buy and sell that literature exclusively, while others make it a large part of their trade. In the former class is Mr. D. H. Newhall, already mentioned. In the latter is Mr. A. S. Clark, of Peekskill, N. Y. I have a recent catalogue issued by the latter containing 496 titles, with the price of each annexed. Mr. Newhall informs me that he has 2,874 titles in his card list of books and pamphlets, *i. e.*, that he knows of the existence of that number, not counting periodical literature or broadsides. His list is still incomplete, and he believes that it will reach 3,000 when finished. Mr. D. S. Passavant of Zelienople, near Pittsburgh, Pa., deals in Lincolniana in foreign languages. Lives of Lincoln have been published in the French, German, Dutch, Swedish, Italian, Russian, Japanese, Spanish, Portugese, Greek, Welsh, and Hawaiian tongues. There is a dealer in Lincolnian relics at No. 46 West Twenty-eighth street, New York City. Mr. Oldroyd's great collection of such relics, now placed in the house where Lincoln died in Washington City, is too well known to need special description.

Equally significant is the daily citation of Lincoln's name and authority by public writers and speakers and in conversation between individuals, as an authority in politics and in the conduct of life. Everybody seems to think that a quotation from him is a knock-down argument. His sayings are common property. They are quoted as freely by Democrats as by Republicans. All help themselves from that storehouse, as they make quotations from Shakespeare, or Burns, or Longfellow. He is more quoted today than he was in his lifetime, and more than any other American ever was.

Conclusion.

So we see that Mr. Lincoln's death did not take place at the culmination of his fame, but that it has been rising and widening ever since and shows no signs of abatement. Of no other American of our times can this be said. Can it be said of any other man of the same period in any part of the world? I cannot find in any country a special department of literature collecting around the name of any statesman of the nineteenth century like that which celebrates the name of our martyr president. This mass of literature is produced and collected and cherished because the hearts of men and women go out to Lincoln. It is not mere admiration for his mental and moral qualities, but a silent response to the magnetic influence of his humanity, his unselfish and world-embracing charity. And thus though dead he yet speaketh to men, women and children who never saw him, and so, I think, he will continue to speak to generations yet unborn, world without end. Amen.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

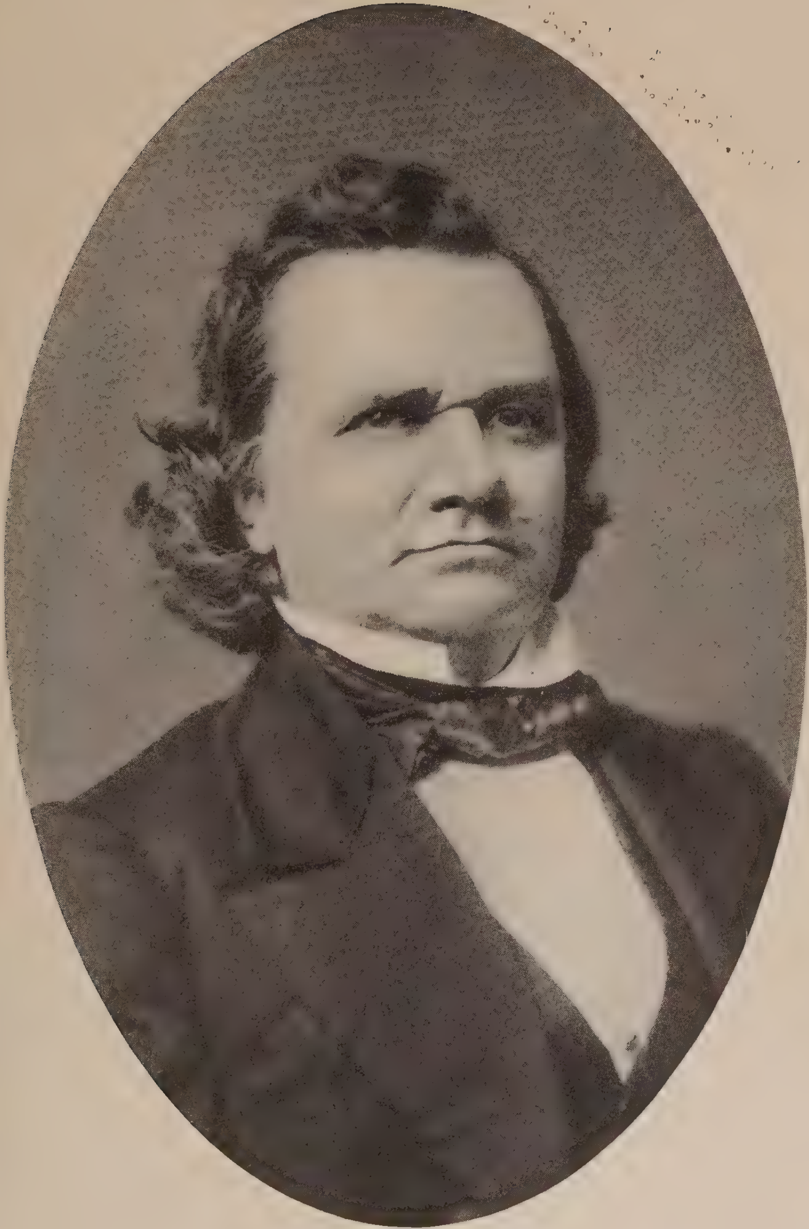
By Adlai E. Stevenson.

Mr. President.—History has been defined: "The sum of the biographies of a few strong men." Much that is of profound and abiding interest in American history during the two decades immediately preceding our civil war, is bound up in the biography of the strong man of whom I speak. Chief among the actors, his place was near the middle of the stage, during that eventful and epoch marking period.

Stephen A. Douglas was born in Brandon, Vt., April 23, 1813, and died in Chicago, Ill., June 3, 1861. Between the dates given lie the years that make up a crowded, eventful life. Left penniless by the death of his father, he was at a tender age dependent upon his own exertions for maintenance and education. At the age of fifteen he apprenticed himself to a cabinet maker in the town of Middlebury in his native state. Naturally of delicate organization, he was unable long to endure the physical strain of this calling, and at the close of two years' service he returned to his early home. Entering an academy in Brandon, he there for a time pursued with reasonable diligence the studies preparatory to a higher course. Supplementing the education thus acquired by a brief course of study in an academy at Canandaigua, N. Y., at the age of twenty, he turned his footsteps westward.

One of the biographers says: "It is doubtful if among all the thousands who in those early days were faring westward from New England, Virginia and the Carolinas, there ever was a youth more resolutely and boldly addressed to opportunity than he. Penniless, broken in health, almost diminutive in physical stature, and unknown, he made his way successively to Cincinnati, Louisville and St. Louis, in search of employment, literally of bread." By a sudden turn in fortune's wheel his lot was cast in Central Illinois, where his first vocation was that of teacher of a village school. Yet later—after laborious application—admitted to the bar, he courageously entered upon his marvelous career.

His home was Jacksonville, and to the hardy pioneers of Morgan and neighboring counties, it was soon revealed that notwithstanding his slight stature and boyish appearance, the youthful Douglas was at once to be taken fully into the account. Self reliant to the very verge, he unhesitatingly entered the arena of active professional and political strife with "foemen worthy the steel" of veterans at the bar, and upon the hustings.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

The issues were sharply drawn between the two political parties then struggling for ascendency, and Central Illinois was the home of as brilliant an array of gifted leaders as the Whig party at any time in its palmiest days had known. Hardin, Stuart, Browning, Logan, Baker, Lincoln, were just then upon the threshold of careers that have given their names honored and enduring place upon the pages of our history. Into the safe keeping of the leaders just named, were entrusted in large degree the advocacy of the principles of the now historic party, and the political fortunes of its great chieftain, Henry Clay.

As is well known, the principal antagonist of the renowned Whig chieftain was Andrew Jackson. Earlier in their political careers, both had been earnest supporters of the administration of President Monroe, but at its close, the leaders last named with Adams and Crawford, were aspirants to the great office. No candidates receiving a majority of the electoral votes, and the selection by constitutional requirement devolving upon the House of Representatives, Mr. Adams was eventually chosen. His election over his principal competitor, General Jackson, was largely through the influence of Mr. Clay; and the subsequent acceptance by the latter of the office of the Secretary of State, gave rise to the unfounded but vehement cry of "bargain and corruption" which followed the Kentucky statesman through two presidential struggles of later periods, and died wholly away only when the clods had fallen upon his grave.

Triumphant in his candidacy over Adams in 1828, President Jackson, four years later encountered as his formidable competitor his colossal antagonist—the one man for whom he had no forgiveness, even when the shadows were gathering about his own couch.

"The early and better days of the republic" is by no means an unusual expression in the political literature of our day. Possibly all the generations of men have realized the significance of the words of the great Bard:

"Past, and to come, seem best;
Things present—worst.
We are time's subjects."

And yet—barring the closing months of the administration of the elder Adams—this country has known no period of more intense party passion, or of more deadly feuds among political leaders, than was manifested during the presidential contest of 1832. The Whig party—with Henry Clay as its candidate, and its idol—was for the first time in the field. Catching something of the spirit of its imperious leader, its campaign was relentlessly aggressive. The scabbard was thrown away, and all lines of retreat cut off from the beginning. No act of the party in power escaped the lime light, no delinquency, real or imaginary, of Jackson—its candidate for re-election—but was ruthlessly drawn into the open day. Even the domestic hearthstone was invaded and antagonisms engendered that knew no surcease until the last of the chief participants in the eventful struggle had descended to the tomb.

The defeat of Clay but intensified his hostility toward his successful rival, and with a following that in personal devotion to its leader has scarcely known a parallel, he was at once the peerless front of a powerful opposition to the Jackson administration.

Such were the existing political conditions throughout the country when Stephen A. Douglas at the age of 22 first entered the arena of debate. It would not be strange if such environment left its deep impress, and measurably gave direction to his political career. The period of probation and training so essential to ordinary men was unneeded by him. Fully equipped, and with a self confidence that has rarely had a counterpart—he was from the beginning the earnest defender of the salient measures of the democratic administration, and the aggressive champion of President Jackson. Absolutely fearless, he took no reckoning of the opposite forces, and regardless of the prowess or ripe experience of adversaries he at all times, in and out of season, gladly welcomed the encounter. To this end, he did not await opportunities, but eagerly sought them.

His first contest for public office was with John J. Hardin, by no means the least gifted of the brilliant Whig leaders already mentioned. Defeated by Douglas in his candidacy for re-election to the office of Attorney General, Colonel Hardin at a later day achieved distinction as a Representative in Congress, and at the early age of 37, fell while gallantly leading his regiment upon the bloody field of Buena Vista. In the catalogue of men worthy of remembrance, there is found the name of no braver, manlier man, than that of John J. Hardin.

With well earned laurels as public prosecutor, Mr. Douglas resigned after two years incumbency of that office, to accept that of representative in the State Legislature. The Tenth General Assembly—to which he was chosen, was the most notable in Illinois history. Upon the roll of members of the House, in the old capitol at Vandalia, were names inseparably associated with the history of the State and the Nation. From its list were yet to be chosen two governors of the Commonwealth, one member of the Cabinet, three justices of the Supreme Court of the State, eight Representatives in Congress, six senators, and one President of the United States. That would indeed be a notable assemblage of law makers in any country or time, that included in its membership; McClernard, Edwards, Ewing, Semple, Logan, Hardin, Browning, Shields, Baker, Stuart, Douglas and Lincoln.

In this Assembly Mr. Douglas encountered in impassioned debate, possibly for the first time, two men against whom in succession he was soon to be opposed upon the hustings as a candidate for Congress; and later as an aspirant to yet more exalted stations, another, with whose name—now "given to the ages"—his own is linked inseparably for all time.

The most brilliant and exciting contest for the National House of Representatives the State has known, excepting possibly that of Cook and McLean a decade and a half earlier, was that of 1838 between John T. Stuart and Stephen A. Douglas. They were the recognized champions of their respective parties. The district embraced two-thirds of the area of the State, extending from the counties immediately south of Sangamon and Morgan, northward to Lake Michigan, and the Wisconsin line. Together on horseback, often across unbridged streams, and through pathless forest and prairie, they journeyed, holding joint debates in all of the county seats of the district—including the then villages of Jacksonville, Springfield, Peoria, Pekin, Bloomington, Quincy, Joliet, Galena, and Chicago. It was said of Hon. Richard M. Young, a noted lawyer of the early days, that he possessed one eminent qualification for the office of Circuit Judge—that of being a good horseback rider. It can hardly be doubted that our candidates for Congress three score and ten years ago, possessed this qualification in a rare degree. That the candidates were well matched in ability and eloquence readily appears from the fact that after an active canvas of several months, Major Stuart was elected by a majority of but eight votes. By re-elections he served six years in the House of Representatives, and was one of its ablest and most valuable members. In Congress, he was the political friend and associate of Crittenden, Winthrop, Clay and Webster. Major Stuart lives in my memory as a splendid type of the Whig statesman of the Golden Age. Courteous and kindly, he was at all times, a Kentucky gentleman of "the old school" if ever one trod this blessed earth.

Returning to the bar after his defeat for Congress, Mr. Douglas was in quick succession, Secretary of State by appointment of the Governor and Judge of the Circuit and Supreme Courts by election of the Legislature. The courts he held as *nisi rius* Judge were in the Quincy circuit, and the last named city for the time his home. His associates upon the supreme bench were Justices Treat, Caton, Ford, Wilson, Scates and Lockwood. His opinions, twenty-one in number will be found in Scammon's reports. There was little in any of the causes submitted to fully test his capacity as lawyer or logician. Enough, however, appears from his clear and concise statements and arguments to justify the belief that had his life been unreservedly given to the profession of the law—his talents concentrated upon the mastery of its eternal principles, he would in the end have been amply rewarded "by that mistress who is at the same time so jealous and so just." This, however, was not to be, and to a field more alluring his footsteps were soon turned. Abandoning the bench to men less ambitious, he was soon embarked upon the uncertain and delusive sea of politics.

His unsuccessful opponent for Congress in 1842 was Hon. Orville H. Browning with whom in the State Legislature, he had measured swords over a partisan resolution sustaining the financial policy of President Jackson. "The whirligig of time brings in his revenges," and it so fell out that near two decades later it was the fortune of Mr. Browning to occupy a seat in the Senate as the successor to Douglas—"touched by the finger of death." At a later day, Mr. Browning as a member of the cabinet of President Johnson acquitted himself with honor in the discharge of the exacting duties of Secretary of the Interior. So long as men of high aims, patriotic hearts, and noble achievements are held in grateful remembrance, his name will have honored place in our country's annals.

The career upon which Mr. Douglas now entered was the one for which he was pre-eminently fitted, and to which he had aspired from the beginning. It was a career in which national fame was to be achieved, and—by re-elections to the House, and later to the Senate—to continue without interruption to the last hour of his life. He took his seat in the House of Representatives, December 5, 1843, and among his colleagues, were Semple and Breese of the Senate, and Hardin, McClernand, Ficklin and Wentworth of the House. Mr. Stephens of Georgia, with whom it was my good fortune to serve in the Forty-fourth and Forty-sixth Congresses, told me that he entered the House the same day with Douglas; and that he distinctly recalled the delicate and youthful appearance of the latter as he advanced to the Speaker's desk to receive the oath of office.

Conspicuous among the leaders of the House in the Twenty-eighth Congress were Hamilton Fish, Washington Hunt, Henry A. Wise, Howell Cobb, Joshua R. Giddings, Linn Boyd, John Sidell, Barnwell Rhett, Robert C. Winthrop the Speaker, Hannibal Hamlin elected Vice President upon the ticket with Mr. Lincoln in 1860, Andrew Johnson, the successor of the lamented president in 1865, and John Quincy Adams whose brilliant career as Ambassador, Senator, Secretary of State and President, was rounded out by near two decades of faithful service as a Representative in Congress.

The period that witnessed the entrance of Mr. Douglas into the great commons was an eventful one in our political history. John Tyler, upon the death of President Harrison had succeeded to the great office, and was in irreconcilable hostility to the leaders of his party upon the vital issues upon which the whig victory of 1840 had been achieved. Henry Clay, then at the zenith of his marvelous powers, merciless in his arraignment of the Tyler administration, was unwittingly breeding the party dissensions that eventually compassed his own defeat in his last struggle for the presidency. Daniel Webster, regardless of the criticism of party associate, and after the retirement of his Whig colleagues from the Tyler cabinet, still remained at the head of the State department. His vindication, if needed, abundantly appears in the treaty by which our northeastern boundary was definitely adjusted, and war with England happily averted.

In the rush of events, party antagonisms, in the main, soon fade from remembrance. One, however, that did not pass with the occasion, but lingered even to the shades of the Hermitage, was unrelenting hostility to President Jackson. For his declaration of martial law in New Orleans just prior to the battle, with which his own name is associated for all time—General Jackson had been subjected to a heavy fine by a judge of that city. Repeated attempts in congress looking to his vindication and re-imbursement, had been unavailing. Securing the floor for the first time, Mr. Douglas, upon the anniversary of the great victory, delivered an impassioned speech in vindication of Jackson which at once challenged the attention of the country, and gave him high place among the great debaters of that memorable congress. In reply to the demand of an opponent for a precedent for the proposed legislation, Douglas quickly responded: "Possibly, sir, no case can be found on any page of American history where the commanding officer has been fined for an act absolutely necessary to the salvation of his country. As to the precedents, let us make one now that will challenge the admiration of the world and stand the test of all the ages." After a graphic description of conditions existing in New Orleans at the time of Jackson's declaration of martial law; "the city filed with traitors, anxious to surrender; spies transmitting information to the camp of the enemy, British regulars—four fold the number of the American defenders, advancing to the attack, in this terrible emergency, necessity became the paramount law, the responsibility was taken, martial law declared, and a victory achieved unparalleled in the annals of war; a victory that avenged the infamy of the wanton burning of our nation's capitol, fully, and for all time."

The speech was unanswered, the bill passed, and probably Douglas knew no prouder moment than when a few months later upon a visit to the Hermitage, he received the earnest thanks of the venerable commander for his masterly vindication.

Two of the salient and far reaching questions confronting the statesmen of that eventful congress pertained to the settlement of the Oregon boundary question, and to the annexation of the republic of Texas. The first named question—left unsettled by the treaty of Ghent had been for two generations the apple of discord between the American and British governments. That it, at a critical moment came near involving the two nations in war is a well known fact in history. The platform upon which Mr. Polk had in 1844 been elected to the presidency asserted unequivocally the right of the United States to the whole of the Oregon territory. The boundary line of "fifty-four-forty" was in many of the states the decisive party watch word in that masterful contest.

Mr. Douglas, in full accord with his party upon this question, ably canvassed Illinois in earnest advocacy of Mr. Polk's election. When at a later day, it was determined by the president and his official advisers to abandon the party platform demand of "fifty-four degrees and forty minutes" as the only settlement of the disputed boundary, and accept that of the parallel of forty-nine degrees, reluctantly proposed by Great Britain as a peacable final settlement—Mr. Douglas earnestly antagonizing any concession, was at once in opposition to the administration he had assisted to bring into power. Whether the part of wisdom was a strict adherence to the platform dicta of "the whole of Oregon," or a reasonable concession in the interest of peaceable adjustment of a dangerous question, was long a matter of vehement discussion. It suffices that the treaty with Great Britain establishing our northwestern boundary upon the parallel last named, was promptly ratified by the Senate, and the once famous "Oregon question" peaceably relegated to the realm of history.

A question—sixty odd years ago—equal in importance with that of the Oregon boundary, was the annexation of Texas. The "Lone Star

State" had been virtually an independent republic since the decisive victory of General Houston over Santa Anna in 1837 at San Jacinto, and its independence as such had been acknowledged by our own and European governments. The hardy settlers of the new commonwealth were in the main emigrants from the United States, and earnestly solicitous of admission into the Federal Union. The question of annexation entered largely into the presidential canvas of 1844, and the "lone star" upon democratic banners was an important factor in securing the triumph of Mr. Polk in that bitterly contested election. In the closing hours of the Tyler administration, annexation was at length effected by joint resolution of Congress, and Texas passed at once from an independent republic to a state of the American Union. This action of Congress, however, gave deep offense to the Mexican government, and was the initial in a series of stirring events soon to follow. The Mexican invasion, the brilliant victories won by American valor, and the Treaty of Peace, by which our domain was extended westward to the Pacific, constitute a thrilling chapter in the annals of war. Brief in duration, the Mexican war was the training school for men whose military achievements were yet to make resplendent the pages of history. Under the victorious banners of the great commanders, Taylor and Scott, were Thomas and Beauregard, Shields and Hill, Johnston and Sherman, McClellan and Longstreet, Hancock and Stonewall Jackson, Lee and Grant. In the list of its heroes were eight future candidates for the presidency, three of whom, Taylor, Pierce and Grant, were triumphantly elected.

Meanwhile at the nation's capitol was held high debate over questions second in importance to none that have engaged the profound consideration of statesmen, that literally took hold of the issues of war, conquest, diplomacy, peace, empire. From its inception, Mr. Douglas was an unfaltering advocate of the project of annexation, and as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, bore prominent part in the protracted and exciting debates consequent upon the passage of that measure in the House of Representatives. In his celebrated colloquy with Mr. Adams he contended that the joint resolution he advocated was in reality only for the re-annexation of territory originally ours under the Louisiana purchase of 1803. That something akin to the spirit of "manifest destiny" brooded over the discussion may be gathered from the closing sentences of his speech: "Our Federal system is admirably adapted to the whole continent; and while I would not violate the laws of nations or treaty stipulations, or in any manner tarnish the national honor, I would exert all legal and honorable means to drive Great Britain and the last vestige of royal authority from the continent of North America, and extend the limits of the republic from ocean to ocean. I would make this an ocean bound republic, and have no more disputes about boundaries or red lines on maps."

Elected to the Senate at the age of thirty-four, Mr. Douglas took his seat in that august body in December, 1847. On the same day Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office as a member from Illinois in the House of Representatives. The Senate was presided over by the able and accomplished Vice President, George M. Dallas. Seldom has there been a more imposing list of great names than that which now included the young Senator from Illinois. Conspicuous among the Senators of the thirty states represented, were Dix of New York, Dayton of New Jersey, Hale of New Hampshire, Clayton of Delaware, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, Mason of Virginia, King of Alabama, Davis of Mississippi, Bell of Tennessee, Corwin of Ohio, Crittenden of Kentucky, Breese of Illinois, Benton of Missouri, Houston of Texas, Calhoun of South Carolina, and Webster of Massachusetts. It need hardly be said that the debates of that and the immediately succeeding Congress have possibly never been surpassed in ability and eloquence by any deliberative assembly.

The one vital and portentous question, in some one of its many phases, then under continuous discussion, was that of human slavery. This institution, until its final extinction amid the flames of war, cast its ominous shadow over our nation's pathway from the beginning. From the establishment of the government under the Federal Constitution to the period mentioned, it had been the constant subject of compromise and concession.

Henry Clay was first known as "the great pacificator" by his tireless efforts in the exciting struggle of 1820 over the admission of Missouri, with its constitution recognizing slavery, into the Federal Union. Bowed with the weight of years, the Kentucky statesman from the retirement he had sought—in recognition of the general desire of his countrymen—again returned to the theatre of his early struggles and triumphs. The fires of ambition had burned low by age and bereavement, but with earnest longing that he might again "pour oil upon the troubled waters" he presented to the Senate as terms of final peaceable adjustment of the slavery question, the once famous "Compromise measures of 1850."

The sectional agitation then at its height was measurably the result of the proposed disposition of territory acquired by the then recent treaty with Mexico. The advocates and oponents of slavery extension were at once in bitter antagonism and intensity of feeling such as the country had rarely known.

The compromise measures—proposed by Mr. Clay in a general bill—embraced the establishment of territorial governments for Utah and New Mexico, the settlement of the Texas boundary, an amendment to the fugitive slave law, and the admission of California as a free state. In entire accord with each proposition, Mr. Douglas had—by direction of the Committee on Territories, of which he was the chairman—reported a bill providing for the immediate admission of California under its recently adopted free state constitution. Separate measures embracing the other propositions of the general bill were likewise duly reported. These measures were advocated by the Illinois senator in a speech that at once won him recognized place among the great debaters of that illustrious assemblage. After many weeks of earnest, at time vehement debate, the bills in the form last mentioned, were passed, and received the approval of the president. Apart from the significance of these measures as a peace offering to the country, their passage closed a memorable era in our history. During their discussion Clay, Calhoun and Webster—"the illustrious triumvirate"—were heard for the last time in the Senate. Greatest of the second generation of our statesman, associated in the advocacy of measures that in the early day of the republic had given us exalted place among the nations, within brief time of each other, "shattered by the contentions of the great hall, they passed to the chamber of reconciliation and of silence."

Chief in importance of his public services to his state was that of Senator Douglas in procuring from Congress a land grant to aid in the construction of the Illinois Central railroad. It is but justice to the memory of his early colleague, Senator Breese, to say that he had been the earnest advocate of a similar measure in a former congress. The bill, however, which after persistent opposition finally became a law was introduced and warmly advocated by Senator Douglas. This act ceded to the State of Illinois, subject to the disposal of the Legislature thereof, "for the purpose of aiding in the construction of a railroad from the southern terminus of the Illinois and Michigan canal to a point at or near the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, with a branch of the same to Chicago, and another to Dubuque, Ia., every alternate section of land designated by even numbers for six sections in width on each side of said road and its branches." It is difficult at this day to realize the importance of this measure to the then sparsely settled State. The grant in aggregate was near three million acres, and was directly to the State. After appropriate action by the State Legislature, the Illinois Central Railroad Company was duly organized, and the road eventually constructed. The provision for the payment by the company to the State of seven per cent of its gross annual earnings, is one, the value of which to this and future generations cannot be overstated. By wise constitutional provision the Legislature is forever prohibited from releasing the company from this payment.

The completion of the Illinois Central Railroad marked the beginning of the era of marvelous development in Illinois. The vast land grant, in convenient holdings, was soon in possession of actual settlers, and a new impetus quickly given to all projects along the line of material progress. During the five years immediately succeeding the passage of the bill, the population of Illinois increased from less than nine hundred thousand to near a million and a half, the foundations were firmly laid for the present unsurpassed prosperity of the great central State. A recent historian has truly said "For this, if for no other public service to his State, the name of Douglas was justly entitled to preservation by the erection of that splendid monumental column which overlooking the blue waters of Lake Michigan, also overlooks for long distance that iron highway which was in no small degree the triumph of his legislative forecast and genius."

The measure now to be mentioned aroused deeper attention—more anxious concern—throughout the entire country than any with which the name of Douglas had yet been closely associated. It pertained directly to slavery, the "bone of contention" between the north and the south—the one dangerous quantity in our national politics—from the establishment of the government. Beginning with its recognition, though not in direct terms, in the federal constitution, it had through two generations in the interest of peace been the subject of repeated compromise.

As chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, Mr. Douglas in the early days of 1854 reported a bill providing for the organization of the territories of Nebraska and Kansas. This measure, which so suddenly arrested public attention, is known in our political history as the "Kansas-Nebraska bill." Among its provisions was one repealing the Missouri Compromise or restriction of 1820. The end sought by the repeal was, as stated by Mr. Douglas, to leave the people of said territories respectively to determine the question of the introduction or exclusion of slavery for themselves; in other words, "to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way subject only to the constitution of the United States." The principle strenuously contended for was that of "popular sovereignty" or non-intervention by Congress, in the affairs of the territories. In closing the protracted and exciting debate just prior to the passage of the bill in the Senate, he said: "There is another reason why I desire to see this principle recognized as a rule of action in all time to come. It will have the effect to destroy all sectional parties and sectional agitation. If you withdraw the slavery question from the halls of Congress and the political arena, and commit it to the arbitrament of those who are immediately interested in, and alone responsible for its consequences there is nothing left out of which sectional parties can be organized. When the people of the north shall all be rallied under one banner, and the whole south marshalled under another banner, and each section excited to frenzy and madness by hostility to the institutions of the other, then the patriot may well tremble for the perpetuity of the Union. Withdraw the slavery question from the political arena and remove it to the states and territories, each to decide for itself, and such a catastrophe can never happen."

These utterances of little more than half a century ago, fall strangely upon our ears at this day. In the light of all that has occurred in the long reach of years, how significant the words: "No man is wiser than events." Likewise, "the actions of men are to be judged by the light surrounding them at the time, not by the knowledge that comes after the fact." The immediate effect of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was directly the reverse of that so confidently predicted by Mr. Douglas. The era of concord between the north and the south did not return. The slavery question, instead of being relegated to the recently organized territories for final settlement, at once assumed the dimensions of a great national issue. The country at large, instead of a single territory became the theatre of excited discussion. The final determination was to be not that of a territory, but of the entire people.

One significant effect of the passage of the bill was the immediate disruption of the Whig party. As a great national organization, of which Clay and Webster had been eminent leaders, and Harrison and Taylor successful candidates for the presidency, it now passes into history.

Upon its ruins, the republican party at once came into being. Under the leadership of Fremont as its candidate, and opposition by congressional intervention to slavery extension as its chief issue, it was a formidable antagonist to the democratic party in the presidential contest of 1856. Mr. Buchanan had defeated Douglas in the nominating convention of his party that year. His absence from the country, as minister to England, during the exciting events just mentioned, it was thought would make him a safer candidate than his chief competitor, Mr. Douglas. He had been in no manner identified with the Kansas-Nebraska bill, or the stormy events which immediately followed its passage. In his letter of acceptance, however, Mr. Buchanan had given his unqualified approval of his party platform which recognized and adopted the principle contained in the organic law establishing the territories of Nebraska and Kansas as embodying the only "sound and safe solution of the slavery question." Upon the principle here declared, issue was joined by his political opponents, and the battle fought out to the bitter end.

Although Mr. Douglas had met personal defeat in his aspiration to the presidency, the principle of "non-intervention by congress" in the affairs of the territories, for which he had so earnestly contended, had been triumphant both in the convention of the party, and at the polls. This principle, in its application to Kansas, was soon to be put to the test. From its organization, that territory had been a continuous scene of disorder often of violence. In rapid succession three governors appointed by the president had resigned and departed the territory, each confessing his inability to maintain public order. The struggle for mastery between the free state advocates and their adversaries arrested the attention of the entire country. It vividly recalled the bloody forays read of in the old chronicles of hostile clans upon the Scottish border.

The "parting of the ways" between Senator Douglas and President Buchanan was now reached. The latter had received the cordial support of Mr. Douglas in the election which elevated him to the presidency. His determined opposition to the re-election of Douglas became apparent as the senatorial canvas progressed. The incidents now to be related will explain this hostility, as well as bring to the front one of the distinctive questions upon which much stress was laid in the subsequent debates between Douglas and Lincoln.

A statesman of national reputation, Hon. Robert J. Walker, was at length appointed Governor of Kansas. During his brief administration, a convention assembled without his coöperation at Lecompton, and formulated a constitution under which application was soon made for the admission of Kansas into the Union. This convention was in part composed of non-residents, and in no sense reflected the wishes of the majority of the bona fide residents of the territory. The salient feature of the constitution was that establishing slavery. The constitution was not submitted by the convention to popular vote, but in due time forwarded to the President, and by him laid before Congress accompanied by a recommendation for its approval, and the early admission of the new state into the Union.

When the Lecompton constitution came before the Senate, it at once encountered the formidable opposition of Mr. Douglas. In unmeasured terms he denounced it as fraudulent, as antagonistic to the wishes of the people of Kansas, and subversive of the basic principle upon which the territory had been organized. In the attitude just assumed, Mr. Douglas at once found himself in line with the Republicans, and in opposition to the administration he had helped to place in power. The breach thus created was destined to remain unhealed. Moreover, his declaration of hostility to the Lecompton constitution was the beginning of the end of years of close political affiliation with southern democratic statesmen. From that moment, Mr. Douglas lost prestige as a national leader of his party. In more than one-half of the democratic states he ceased to be regarded as a probable or even possible candidate for the presidential succession. The hostility thus engendered followed him to the Charleston convention of 1860, and throughout the exciting presidential contest which followed. But the humiliation of defeat, brought about as he believed by personal hostility to himself, was yet in the future. In the attempted admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, Mr. Douglas was triumphant over the administration and his former political associates from the south. Under what was known as the "English Amendment," the obnoxious constitution was referred to the people of Kansas, and by them overwhelmingly rejected.

The close of this controversy in the early months of 1858 left Mr. Douglas in a position of much embarrassment. He had incurred the active hostility of the president, and in large measure of his adherents, without gaining the future aid of his late associates, in the defeat of the Lecompton constitution. His senatorial term was nearing its close, and his political life depended upon his re-election. With an united and aggressive enemy, ably led, in his front; his own party hopelessly divided —one faction seeking his defeat, it can readily be seen that his political pathway was by no means one of peace. Such in brief outline, were the political conditions, when upon the adjournment of Congress, Mr. Douglas returned to Illinois in July, 1858, and made public announcement of his candidacy for re-election.

In his speech at Springfield, June 17, accepting the nomination of his party for the Senate, Mr. Lincoln had uttered the words which have since become historic. They are quoted at length, as they soon furnished the text for his severe arraignment by Mr. Douglas in debate. The words are: "We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this country cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, north as well as south."

This, at the time, was a bold utterance, and it was believed by many would imperil Mr. Lincoln's chances for election. Mr. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," says: "Mr. Lincoln had been warned by intimate friends to whom he had communicated the contents of his speech in advance of its delivery, that he was treading on dangerous ground that he would be misrepresented as a disunionist, and that he might fatally damage the republican party by making its existence synonymous with a destruction of the government."

The opening speech of Mr. Douglas at Chicago a few days later, sounding the key note of his campaign, was in the main an arraignment of his opponent for an attempt to precipitate an internecine conflict, and array in deadly hostility the north against the south. He said: "In other words, Mr. Lincoln advocates boldly and clearly a war of sections, a war of the north against the south, of the free states against the slave states, a war of extermination, to be continued relentlessly until the one or the other shall be subdued, and all the states shall either become free or become slave."

The two speeches, followed by others of like tenor, aroused public interest in the State as it had never been before. The desire to hear the candidates from the same platform became general. The proposal for joint debate came from Mr. Lincoln on the 24th day of July and was soon thereafter accepted. Seven joint meetings were agreed upon, the first to be at Ottawa, August 21st, and the last at Alton, October 15th. The meetings were held in the open, and at each place immense crowds were in attendance. The friends of Mr. Lincoln largely preponderated in the northern portion of the State, those of Mr. Douglas in the southern, while in the center the partisans of the respective candidates were apparently equal in numbers. The interest never flagged for a moment from the beginning to the close. The debate was upon a high plane; each candidate enthusiastically applauded by his friends, and respectfully heard by his opponents. The speakers were men of dignified presence, their bearing such as to challenge respect in any assemblage. There was nothing of the "grotesque" about the one, nothing of the "political juggler" about the other. Both were deeply impressed with the gravity of the questions at issue, and of what might prove their far reaching consequence to the country. Kindly reference by each speaker to the other characterized the debates from the beginning. "My friend Lincoln," and "My friend, the Judge," were expressions of constant occurrence during the debates. While each mercilessly attacked the political utterances of the other, good feeling in the main prevailed. Something being pardoned to the spirit of debate, the amenities were well observed. They had been personally well known to each other for many years, had served together in the Legislature when the State Capital was at Vandalia, and at a later date, Lincoln had appeared before the Supreme Court when Douglas was one of the judges. The amusing allusions to each other were taken in good part. Mr. Lincoln's profound humor is now a proverb. It never appeared to better advantage than during these debates. In criticising Mr. Lincoln's attack upon Chief Justice Taney and his associates for the "Dred Scott decision," Douglas declared it to be an attempt to secure a reversal of the high tribunal by an appeal to a town meeting. It reminded him of the saying of Colonel Strode that the judicial system of Illinois was perfect, except that "there should be an appeal allowed from the Supreme Court to two justices of the peace." Lincoln replied: "That was when you were on the bench, Judge." Referring to Douglas' allusion to him as a kind, amiable and intelligent gentleman, he said: "Then as the Judge has complimented me with these pleasant titles, I was a little taken, for it came from a great man. I was not very much accustomed to flattery and it came the sweeter to me. I was like the Hoosier with the ginger bread, when he said he reckoned he loved it better and got less of it than any other man." Mr. Douglas, referring to the alliance between the Republicans and the federal office holders, said: "I shall deal with this allied army just as the Russian dealt with the allies at Sebastopol, the Russians when they fired a broadside did not stop to inquire whether it hit a Frenchman, an Englishman or a Turk. Nor will I stop to inquire whether my blows hit the Republican leaders or their allies who hold the federal offices." To which Lincoln replied: "I beg the Judge will indulge us while we remind him that the allies took Sebastopol."

In opening the debate at Ottawa, Mr. Douglas said: "In the remarks I have made on the platform and the position of Mr. Lincoln, I mean nothing personally disrespectful or unkind to that gentleman. I have known him for twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got acquainted. We were both comparatively boys, and both struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school teacher in the town of Winchester, and he a flourishing grocery keeper in the town of Salem. He was more successful in his occupation than I was in mine, and hence more fortunate in this world's goods. Lincoln is one of those peculiar men who perform with admirable skill everything which they undertake. I made as good a school teacher as I could, and when a cabinet maker I made a good bedstead and table although my old boss said I succeeded better with bureaus and secretaries than anything else. I met him in the Legislature and had a sympathy with him because of the up hill struggle we both had in life. He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as now. He could beat any of the boys wrestling, or running a foot race, in pitching quoits or tossing a copper, and the dignity and impartiality with which he presided at a horse race, or a fist fight, excited the admiration and won the praise of everybody. I sympathized with him because he was struggling with difficulties, and so was I." To which Mr. Lincoln replied: "The judge is woefully at fault about his friend Lincoln being a grocery keeper. I don't know as it would be a sin if I had been; but he is mistaken. Lincoln never kept a grocery anywhere in the world. It is true that Lincoln did work the latter part of one winter in a little still house up at the head of a hollow."

The serious phases of the debates will now be considered. The opening speech was by Mr. Douglas. That he possessed rare power as a debater, all who heard him can bear witness. Mr. Blaine in his history says: "His mind was fertile in resources. He was master of logic. In that peculiar style of debate which in its intensity resembles a physical combat, he had no equal. He spoke with extraordinary readiness. He used good English, terse, pointed, vigorous. He disregarded the adornments of rhetoric. He never cited historic precedents except from the domain of American politics. Inside that field, his knowledge was comprehensive, minute, critical. He could lead a crowd almost irresistibly to his own conclusions."

Douglas was, in very truth imbued with little of mere sentiment. He gave little time to discussions belonging solely to the realm of the speculative or the abstract. He was in no sense a dreamer. What Coleridge has defined wisdom: "Common sense, in an uncommon degree"—was his. In phrase the simplest and most telling, he struck at once at the very core of the controversy. Possibly no man was ever less inclined "to darken counsel with words without knowledge." Positive, and aggressive, to the last degree, he never sought "by indirections to find directions out." In statesmanship, in all that pertained to human affairs, he was intensely practical. With him, in the words of Macaulay "one acre in Middlesex, is worth a principality in Utopia."

It is a pleasure to recall, after the lapse of half a century, the two men as they shook hands upon the speaker's stand, just before the opening of the debates that were to mark an epoch in American history. Stephen A. Douglas! Abraham Lincoln! As they stood side by side and looked out upon "the sea of upturned faces"—it was indeed a picture to live in the memory of all who witnessed it. The one stood for "the old ordering of things," in an emphatic sense for the government as established by the fathers, with all its compromises. The other, recognizing, equally with his opponent, the binding force of constitutional obligation, yet looking away from present surroundings "felt the inspiration of the coming of the grander day." As has been well said: "The one faced the past—the other the future."

"Often do the spirits of great events
Stride on before the events,
And in today, already walks tomorrow."

Few survive of the vast assemblages who listened spellbound to the impassioned words of the masterful debaters. The conditions mentioned by Webster as essential to true eloquence had arisen: "The orator and the occasion had met." The people of the entire State were aroused, the interest profound, the excitement at times intense. The occasion was indeed worthy the great orators; the orators worthy the great occasion. The debaters were to note a mighty epoch in American politics.

The immediate arena of the struggle was Illinois, and the prize of victory, a senatorship. But to those who read the signs, aright, it was but the prelude to the contest for the presidency soon to follow. Within less than two years from the opening debate, Lincoln and Douglas were opposing candidates for the presidency, and the area of the struggle enlarged from a state to a nation. And following close upon its determination, the momentous questions involved, were transferred from hustings and from Senate to find bloody arbitrament on the field.

The name of Lincoln is now a household word. But little can be written of him that is not already known to the world. Nothing that can be uttered or withheld can add to, or detract from, his imperishable fame. But it must be remembered that his great opportunity and fame, came after the stirring events separated from us by the passing of fifty years. It is not the Lincoln of history, but Lincoln, the country lawyer, the debater, the candidate of his party for political office, with whom we have now to do. Born in Kentucky, much of his early life was spent in Indiana, and all of his professional and public life up to his election to the presidency, in Illinois. His early opportunities for study, like those of Douglas, were meagre indeed. Neither had had the advantage of the thorough training of the schools. Of both, it might truly have been said: "They knew men rather than books." From his log cabin home upon the Sangamon, Mr. Lincoln had in his early manhood volunteered, and was made captain of his company, in what was so well known to the early settlers of Illinois, as "the Black Hawk War." Later he was surveyor of his county, and three times a member of the State Legislature. At the time of the debates with Senator Douglas, Mr. Lincoln had for many years been a resident of Springfield, and a recognized leader of the bar. As an advocate he had probably no superior in the State. During the days of the Whig party he was an earnest exponent of its principles, and an able champion of its candidates. As such, he had in successive contests eloquently presented the claims of Harrison, Clay, Taylor and Scott to the presidency. In 1846, he was elected a Representative in Congress, and upon his retirement, he resumed the active practice of his profession. Upon the dissolution of the Whig party, he cast in his fortunes with the new political organization, and was in very truth one of the builders of the Republican party. At its first national convention in 1856, he received a large vote for nomination to the vice presidency, and during the memorable campaign of that year canvassed the State in advocacy of the election of Fremont and Dayton, the candidates of the Philadelphia convention.

In the year 1858, that of the great debates, Mr. Douglas was the better known of the opposing candidates in the country at large. In a speech then recently delivered in Springfield, Mr. Lincoln said: "There is still another disadvantage under which we labor and to which I will ask your attention. It arises out of the relative positions of the two persons, who stand before the State as candidates for the Senate.

"Senator Douglas is of world wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party have been looking upon him as certainly at no distant day to be the president of the United States. They have seen in his ruddy, jolly, fruitful face, postoffices, land offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. On the contrary, nobody has ever seen in my poor, lean, lank face that any cabbages were sprouting out."

Both, however, were personally well known in Illinois. Each was by unanimous nomination the candidate of his party. Mr. Douglas had known sixteen years of continuous service in one or the other House of Congress. In the Senate, he had held high debate with Seward, Sumner and Chase from the north, and during the last session, since he had assumed a position of antagonism to the Buchanan administration, had repeatedly measured swords with Toombs, Benjamin, and Jefferson Davis, chief among the great debaters from the south.

Mr. Lincoln's services in Congress had been limited to a single term in the lower House, and his great fame was yet to be achieved, not as a legislator, but as chief executive during the most critical years of our history.

Such in brief were the opposing candidates as they entered the lists of debate at Ottawa on the twenty-first day of August, 1858. Both in the prime of manhood, thoroughly equipped for the conflict, and surrounded by throngs of devoted friends. Both gifted with marvelous forensic powers, and alike hopeful as to the result. Each recognizing fully the strength of his opponent, his own powers were constantly at their highest tension.

"The blood more stirs
To rouse a lion than to start a hare."

In opening, Mr. Douglas made brief reference to the political condition of the country prior to the year 1854. He said: "The Whig and the Democratic were the two great parties then in existence; both national and patriotic, advocating principles that were universal in their application; while these parties differed in regard to banks, tariff, and sub-treasury, they agreed on the slavery question which now agitates the Union. They had adopted the compromise measures of 1850 as the basis of a full solution of the slavery question in all its forms, that these measures had received the endorsement of both parties in their national convention of 1852, thus affirming the right of the people of each state and territory to decide as to their domestic institutions for themselves; that this principle was embodied in the bill reported by me in 1854 for the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska; in order that there might be no misunderstanding, these words were inserted in that bill: 'It is the true intent and meaning of this act, not to legislate slavery into any state or territory, or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the federal constitution.'"

Turning then to his opponent, he said: "I desire to know whether Mr. Lincoln today stands as he did in 1854 in favor of the unconditional repeal of the fugitive slave law; whether he stands pledged today as he did in 1854 against the admission of any more slave states into the Union, even if the people want them; whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new state into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make. I want to know whether he stands today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line. I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is prohibited therein. I want his answer to these questions."

Mr. Douglas then addressed himself to the already quoted words of Mr. Lincoln's Springfield speech commencing: "A house divided against itself cannot stand." He declared the government had existed for seventy years divided into free and slave states as our fathers made it; that at the time the Constitution was framed there were thirteen states, twelve of which were slave holding, and one a free state; that if the doctrine preached by Mr. Lincoln that all should be free, or all slave had prevailed the twelve would have overruled the one, and slavery would have been established by the Constitution on every inch of the republic, instead of being left as our fathers wisely left it for each state to decide for itself." He then declared that "uniformity in the local laws and institutions of the different states is neither possible nor desirable; that if uniformity had been adopted when the government was established it must inevitably have been the uniformity of slavery everywhere, or the uniformity of negro citizenship and negro equality everywhere. I hold that humanity and Christianity both require that the negro shall have and enjoy every right and every privilege and every immunity consistent with the safety of the society in which he lives. The question then arises, what rights and privileges are consistent with the public good? This is a question which each state and each territory must decide for itself. Illinois has decided it for herself."

He then said: "Now, my friends, if we will only act conscientiously upon this great principle of popular sovereignty, it guarantees to each state and territory the right to do as it pleases on all things local and domestic instead of Congress interfering, we will continue at peace one with another. This doctrine of Mr. Lincoln of uniformity among the institutions of the different states is a new doctrine never dreamed of by Washington, Madison or the framers of the government. Mr. Lincoln and his party set themselves up as wiser than the founders of the government which has flourished for seventy years under the principle of popular sovereignty, recognizing the right of each state to do as it pleased. Under that principle, we have grown from a nation of three or four millions to one of thirty millions of people. We have crossed the mountains and filled up the whole northwest, turning the prairie into a garden, and building up churches and schools, thus spreading civilization and Christianity where before there was nothing but barbarism. Under that principle we have become from a feeble nation the most powerful upon the face of the earth, and if we only adhere to that principle we can go forward increasing in territory, in power, in strength and in glory until the Republic of America shall be the North Star that shall guide the friends of freedom throughout the civilized world. I believe that this new doctrine preached by Mr. Lincoln will dissolve the Union if it succeeds; trying to array all the northern states in one body against the southern; to excite a sectional war between the free states and the slave states in order that the one or the other may be driven to the wall."

Mr. Lincoln said in reply: "I think and shall try to show that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is wrong; wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, wrong in its prospective principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world where men can be found inclined to take it. This declared indifference, but I must think covert zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republic an example of its just influence in the world, enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites. I have no prejudices against the southern people; they are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist amongst us we would not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses north and south. When the southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the same. I surely will not blame them for what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly powers were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution."

Declaring that he did not advocate freeing the negroes, and making them our political and social equals, but suggesting that gradual systems of emancipation might be adopted by the states, he added: "But for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the south. But all this to my judgment furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our free territory than it would for the reviving the African slave trade by law." He then added: "I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races.

But I hold that notwithstanding all this there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects, certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral and intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody, which his own hand earns, he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man."

Referring to the quotation from his Springfield speech of the words: "A house divided against itself cannot stand," he said: "Does the Judge say it can stand? If he does, then there is a question of veracity not between him and me, but between the Judge and an authority of somewhat higher character. I leave it to you to say whether in the history of our government the institution of slavery has not failed to be a bond of union, but on the contrary been an apple of discord and an element of division in the house, if so, then I have a right to say, that in regard to this question the Union is a house divided against itself; and when the Judge reminds me that I have often said to him that the institution of slavery has existed for eighty years in some states and yet it does not exist in some others, I agree to that fact, and I account for it by looking at the position in which our fathers originally placed it, restricting it from the new territories where it had not gone, and legislating to cut off its source by abrogation of the slave trade, thus putting the seal of legislation against its spread, the public mind did rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Now, I believe if we could arrest its spread and place it where Washington and Jefferson and Madison placed it, it would be in the course of ultimate extinction, and the public mind would, as for eighty years past, believe that it was in the course of ultimate extinction."

Referring further to his Springfield speech he declared that he had no thought of doing anything to bring about a war between the free and slave states; that he had no thought in the world that he was doing anything to bring about social and political equality of the black and white races.

Pursuing this line of argument, he insisted that the first step in the conspiracy, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, followed soon by the Dred Scott decision, the latter fitting perfectly into the niche left by the former, "in such a case, we feel it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin, Roger and James, all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn before the first blow was struck."

In closing, Mr. Douglas, after indignant denial of the charge of conspiracy, said: "I have lived twenty-five years in Illinois; I have served you with all the fidelity and ability which I possess, and Mr. Lincoln is at liberty to attack my public action, my votes, and my conduct, but when he dares to attack my moral integrity by a charge of conspiracy between myself, Chief Justice Taney, and the Supreme Court and two Presidents of the United States, I will repel it."

At Freeport, Mr. Lincoln, in opening the discussion, at once declared his readiness to answer the interrogatories propounded. He said: "I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the fugitive slave law; I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave states into the Union; I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new state into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make; I do not stand today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different states; I am impliedly, if not expressly pledged to a belief in the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States territories."

Waiving the form of the interrogatory as to being pledged he said: "As to the first one in regard to the fugitive slave law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think under the Constitution of the United States the people of the southern states are entitled to a congressional fugitive slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing fugitive slave law further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it without lessening its efficiency. In regard to whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave states into the Union, I would be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave state admitted into the Union; but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the territories during the territorial existence of any one given territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slavery constitution uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses constitutional power to abolish it. Yet, as a member of Congress, I should not be in favor of endeavoring to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia unless it would be upon these conditions: First, that the abolition should be gradual; second, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the district; third, that compensation should be made unwilling owners. With these conditions, I confess I should be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the language of Henry Clay, 'Sweep from our capitol that foul blot upon our nation.'"

These carefully prepared answers will never cease to be of profound interest to the student of human affairs. They indicate unmistakably the conservative tendency of Mr. Lincoln, and his position at the time as to the legal status of the institution of slavery. But, "Courage mounteth with occasion." Five years later, and from the hand that penned the answers given came the great proclamation emancipating a race. "The hour had struck", and slavery perished. "The "compromises" upon which it rested were in the mighty upheaval, but as the stubble before the flame.

Recurring to the Freeport debate, Mr. Lincoln propounded to his opponent four interrogatories as follows: First, if the people of Kansas shall by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects adopt a state constitution and ask admission into the Union under it before they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the bill, some ninety-three thousand, will you vote to admit them? Second, can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution? Third, if the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that states cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting and following such decision as a rule of political action; fourth, are you in favor of acquiring additional territory in disregard of how such acquisition may effect the nation on the slavery question?"

The questions propounded reached the marrow of the controversy, and were yet to have a much wider field for discussion. This was especially true of the second of the series. Upon this, widely divergent, irreconcilable, views were entertained by northern and southern democrats. The evidence of this is to be found in the respective national platforms upon which Mr. Douglas and Mr. Breckenridge were two years later rival candidates of a divided party. The second interrogatory of Mr. Lincoln clearly emphasized this conflict of opinion as it existed at the time of the debates. It is but just, however, to Mr. Douglas, of whom little that is kindly has in late years been spoken, to say, that there was nothing in the question to cause him surprise or embarrassment. It would be passing strange if during the protracted debates with Senators representing extreme and antagonistic views a matter so vital as the interpretation of the Kansas-Nebraska act, as indicated by the interrogatory, had never been under discussion. Conclusive evidence upon the points is to be found in the speech delivered by Senator Douglas at Bloomington, July 16th, forty-two days before the Freeport debate, in which he said: "I tell you, my friends it is impossible under our institutions to force slavery on an unwilling people. If this principle of popular sovereignty, asserted in the Nebraska bill be fairly carried out by letting the people decide the question for themselves by a fair vote, at a fair election, and with honest returns, slavery will never exist one day, or one hour in any territory against the unfriendly legislation of an unfriendly people. Hence, if the people of a territory want slavery they will encourage it by passing affirmatory laws, and the necessary police regulations; if they do not want it, they will withhold that legislation, and by withholding it slavery is as dead as if it was prohibited by a constitutional prohibition. They could pass such local laws and police regulations as would drive slavery out in one day or one hour if they were opposed to it, and therefore, so far as the question of slavery in the territories is concerned, so far as the principle of popular sovereignty is concerned in its practical operation, it matters not how the Dred Scott case may be decided with reference to the territories. My own opinion on that point is well known. It is shown by my vote and speeches in Congress."

Recurring again to the Freeport debate, in reply to the first interrogatory, Mr. Douglas declared that in reference to Kansas it was his opinion that if it had population enough to constitute a slave state, it had people enough for a free state; that he would not make Kansas an exceptional case, to the other states of the Union; that he held it to be a sound rule of universal application to require a territory to contain the requisite population for a member of Congress before its admission as a state into the Union; that it having been decided that Kansas has people enough for a slave state, I hold it has enough for a free state."

As to the third interrogatory, he said: "Only one man in the United States, an editor of a paper in Washington had held such view, and that he, Douglas, had at the time denounced it on the floor of the Senate. That Mr. Lincoln casts an imputation upon the Supreme Court by supposing that it would violate the constitution; that it would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench could ever descend to. To the fourth, which he said was "very ingeniously and cunningly put" he answered that: "Whenever it became necessary in our growth and progress to acquire more territory he was in favor of it without reference to the question of slavery, and when we have acquired it, he would leave the people to do as they pleased, either to make it free, or slave territory as they preferred."

The answer to the second interrogatory, of which much has been written, was given without hesitation. Language could hardly be more clear or effective. He said: "To the next question propounded to me I answered emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times, that in my opinion the people of the territory can by lawful means exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution. It matters not what the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it, or exclude it, as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day, or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislatures, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary they are for it, their Legislature will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave territory or a free territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill."

The trend of thought, the unmeasured achievement of activities looking to human amelioration, during the fifty intervening years, must be taken into the account before uncharitable judgment upon what has been declared the indifference of Mr. Douglas to the question of abstract right involved in the memorable discussion. It must be remembered that the world has moved apace, and that a mighty gulf separates us from that eventful period in which practical statesmen were compelled to deal with institutions as then existing. And not to be forgotten are the words of the great interpreter of the human heart:

> "But—know thou this, that
> Men are as the time is."

The great debates between Douglas and Lincoln, the like of which we shall not hear again, had ended and passed to the domain of history. To the inquiry: "Which of the participants won the victory?"—there can be no absolute answer. Judged by the immediate result—the former, by consequence more remote and far reaching—the latter. Within three years from the first meeting at Ottawa, Mr. Lincoln, having been elected and inaugurated president, was upon the threshold of mighty events which are now the masterful theme of history; and his great antagonist in the now historic debates—had passed from earthly scenes.

It has been said that Douglas was ambitious.

"If 'twere so, it was a grievous fault
And grievously hath he answered it."

We may well believe that with like honorable ambition to the two great popular leaders of different periods, Clay and Blaine, his goal was the presidency.

In the three last national conventions of his party preceding his death, he was presented by the Illinois delegation to be named for the great office. The last of these, the Charleston convention of 1860, is now historic. It assembled amid intense party passion, and after a turbulent session, that seemed the omen of its approaching doom, adjourned to a later day to Baltimore. Mr. Douglas there received the almost solid vote of the northern, and a portion of that of the border states, but the hostility of the extreme southern leaders to his candidacy was implacable to the end. What had seemed inevitable from the beginning, at length occurred, and the great historic party, which had administered the government with brief intermissions from the inauguration of Jefferson, was hopelessly rent asunder. This startling event, and what it might portend, gave pause to thoughtful men of all parties. It was not a mere incident, but an epoch in history. Mr. Blaine in his "Twenty years of Congress" says: "The situation was the cause of solicitude and even grief with thousands to whom the old party was peculiarly endeared. The traditions of Jefferson, of Madison, of Jackson, were devoutly treasured; and the splendid achievements of the American democracy were recounted with the pride which attaches to an honorable family inheritance. The fact was recalled that the republic had grown to its imperial dimensions under democratic statesmanship. It was remembered that Louisiana had been acquired from France, Florida, from Spain, the independent republic of Texas annexed, and California, with its vast dependencies, and its myriad millions of treasure ceded by Mexico, all under democratic administrations, and in spite of the resistence of their opponents. That a party whose history was interwoven with the glory of the republic should now come to its end in a quarrel over the status of the negro in a country where his labor was not wanted, was to many of its members as incomprehensible as it was sorrowful and exasperating. They might have restored the party to harmony, but at the very height of the factional contest, the representatives of both sections were hurried forward to the national convention of 1860, with principle subordinated to passion, with judgment displaced by a desire for revenge."

The withdrawal from the Baltimore convention of a large majority of the southern delegates and a small following, led by Caleb Cushing and Benjamin F. Butler from the north, resulted in the immediate nomination by the requisite two-thirds vote of Senator Douglas as the presidential candidate. The platform upon the question of slavery was in substance that contended for by the candidates in the debates with Lincoln. The democratic party divided, Breckenridge receiving the support of the south, Mr. Douglas' candidacy was hopeless from the beginning. But his iron will and courage, that knew no faltering, never appeared to better advantage than during that eventful canvas. Deserted by former political associates, he visited distant states and addressed immense audiences in defense of the platform upon which he had been nominated, and in advocacy of his own election. His speeches in southern states were of the stormy incidents of a struggle that has scarcely known a parallel. Interrogated by a prominent citizen at Norfolk, Va. "If Lincoln be elected president, would the southern states be justified in seceding from the union?" Douglas instantly replied: "I emphatically answer, no. The election of a man to the presidency in conformity with the Constitution of the United States would not justify an attempt to dissolve the union."

Defeated in his great ambition, broken in health, the sad witness of the unmistakable portents of the coming sectional strife, the few remaining months of his mortal life were enveloped in gloom. Partisan feeling vanished, his deep concern was now only for his country. Standing by the side of his successful rival whose wondrous career was only opening, as his own was nearing its close, he bowed profound assent to the imperishable utterances of the inaugural address: "I am loath to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Yet later, immediately upon the firing of the fatal shot at Sumpter that suddenly summoned millions from peaceful pursuits to arms, by invitation of the Illinois Legislature, Mr. Douglas addressed his countrymen for the last time. "Broken with the storms of State," the fires of ambition forever extinguished, standing literally upon the threshold of the grave, his soul burdened with the calamities that had befallen his country, in tones of deepest pathos he declared: "If war must come, if the bayonet must be used to maintain the Constitution, I can say before God, my conscience is clear. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of the trouble. I deprecate war, but if it must come, I am with my country, and for my country, in every contingency, and under all circumstances. At all hazards our government must be maintained, and the shortest pathway to peace is through the most stupendous preparation for war." Who that heard the last public utterance that fell from his lips, can forget his solemn invocation to all who had followed his political fortunes, until the banner had fallen from his hand—"to know only their country in its hour of peril!"

The ordinary limit of human life unreached; his intellectual strength unabated; his loftiest aspirations unrealized; at the critical moment of his country's sorest need, he passed to the grave. What reflections and regrets may have been his in that hour of awful mystery, we may not know. In the words of another: "What blight and anguish met his agonized eyes, whose lips may tell? What brilliant, broken plans, what bitter rending of sweet household ties, of strong manhood's friendships!"

In the light of what has been disclosed, may we not believe that with his days prolonged, he would during the perilous years have been the safe counselor, the rock, of the great President, in preserving the nation's life, and later "in binding up the nation's wounds."

Worthy of honored and enduring place in history, Stephen A. Douglas, statesman and patriot, lies buried within the great city whose stupendous development is so largely the result of his own wise forecast and endeavor, by the majestic lake whose waves break near the base of his stately monument and chant his eternal requiem.

THE JEFFERSON-LEMEN ANTI-SLAVERY PACT.

By **Joseph B. Lemen.**

At the close of the war for independence, Thomas Jefferson (though a slave holder), believing the system to be a curse and being loyal to the immortal truth concerning human rights and liberty, which he had written for the ages in our chart of independence, resolved to dedicate to freedom, the northwestern territory, which Virginia then held. But, well knowing that a knowledge of his purpose by the far south would defeat its success, as well as his own laudable ambition for future preferment, he made the matter a profound secret. At that time a few pioneers were settling in the western boundaries, and Jefferson formed the purpose to send a capable and confidential agent into the Illinois section of the territory to shape events in the new settlements toward anti-slavery. For this mission, he selected his young friend, James Lemen, living near Harper's Ferry, Va., believing his courage, ability and resolute honesty fitted him for a leader.

Several meetings were held to talk the matter over, and at length, at their last meeting, at Annapolis, Maryland, on May 2, 1784, all the details in their secret anti-slavery pact or agreement, under which Mr. Lemen was to come to Illinois to oppose slavery, were agreed upon; and Jefferson shortly after sailed as an envoy to France. Mr. Lemen was delayed by illness for some time, but on December 28, 1785, Jefferson's financial agent gave him some funds for his family in case of sickness or emergencies, though they were never used except for other good causes, and he and his family came to Illinois in 1786, and finally settled at the New Design in Monroe county, where, in due time, they made themselves a comfortable home. In 1787, Mr. Lemen was converted to the Baptist faith, and he immediately set about converting others and creating or collecting Baptist churches for the duly authorized Baptist ministers to constitute. He was the founder of the first eight Baptist churches in Illinois, and before each was constituted, he held a preliminary meeting, with the proposed members, pledging them, among other things, to oppose the doctrine and practice of slavery, thus faithfully carrying out the spirit of his anti-slavery pact with Jefferson by every means possible. He did not make opposition to slavery an actual test for the religious faith of his followers, but by appeals to their reason and sense of right, he induced the constitutents of every church he formed to make a pledge against slavery.

When Senator Wm. Henry Harrison was made governor of the northwestern territory, though at heart opposed to slavery, its pressing demands swept him and his territorial council into its service, and they finally plied Congress through several years in several sessions to establish slavery in the territory. In his pro-slavery efforts, Governor Harrison recognized Mr. Lemen's leadership in Illinois, made overtures for his approval and support; but he replied, that as good a friend as he was to Governor Harrison, "that while his blood ran warm" he would oppose slavery to his latest hour, and to make that declaration good, he sent an agent to Indiana, paying him with some of Jefferson's funds, to stir up the people there to sign and send anti-slavery petitions to Congress to counter-act Governor Harrison's pro-slavery petitions. The agent called on Jefferson's anti-slavery agent, whom he had sent into Indiana to work for the same purpose, and on the same basis as Mr. Lemen's mission to Illinois, but the agent had lost his wife and child and, in fact, had proved a disappointment. But other noble workers rallied to the cause, and a great anti-slavery petition was circulated, signed and sent to Congress, Mr. Lemen securing some signers here. At length, that body (Congress) denied and defeated Governor Harrison's request and purpose; and it was understood that President Jefferson, loyal to the cause for which he had sent Mr. Lemen to Illinois to establish, through some of his powerful friends in Congress caused them to secure the defeat of Harrison's demands.

This practically ended the contest in the territory but the tremendous pressure under Governor Harrison and his Legislature, gave Mr. Lemen's churches or a controlling element in them, a pro-slavery trend, and he determined to bring them back to their original anti-slavery basis, or, failing, to call a division and from a new anti-slavery church to lead that cause in Illinois. In 1808 President Jefferson was informed of this purpose, by their mutual friend, S. H. Biggs, and he, greatly pleased, sent a message by this friend to Mr. Lemen to proceed at once to call for a division, and make a new anti-slavery church to lead the contest for freedom. Dreading the tremendous responsibilities of a division, Mr. Lemen, for some months, labored earnestly to recall the churches to their former basis, but, failing in this, he prepared to carry forward Jefferson's orders, and he called for a division at a great meeting at Richland creek church, on July 8, 1809, which was to consider the matter. The movement was taken under advisement until another meeting was called to act, when the division was granted, and Mr. Lemen and his followers withdrew and formed their anti-slavery church the next day, December 10, 1809. It was called the Canteen creek church, "The Baptized Church of Christ, friends to humanity," now the Bethel Baptist church near Collinsville. The division and creation of the new church gave the anti-slavery cause such a impetus over all of Illinois, that in their confidential letters to Mr. Lemen, Senators Douglas and Trumbull and Abraham Lincoln, who, in 1856, had been made familiar with all the facts, declared that the event sounded the death knell of slavery in Illinois and finally made it a free State. Had Illinois been a slave State, and in the great conflict of 1861-65 had it launched its mighty armies against instead of for the Union, what might we have been today?

The persons above named, with Dr. J. M. Peck, and a few others, were the only ones to whom Rev. James Lemen, Jr., as long as fifty or sixty years ago, had told the facts of the "Jefferson-Lemen anti-slavery pact," or who had seen the papers relating to it. It should be added here that the above facts are taken from Dr. Peck's history of that pact or agreement, which he wrote in 1851, from the old family notes of Rev. James Lemen, Jr., when he wrote the history of the Bethel church, and, in fact, it comprises a part of the history of that church, as it was organized to lead the anti-slavery contest in Illinois after the first seven Baptist churches formed by Rev. James Lemen, Sr., had gone over to pro-slavery cause under the pro-slavery influence of Governor Harrison's rule. But that part of the Bethel church history of Dr. Peck, included in the history of the "pact," was not then made public, while the other part of it was recorded in the old church book of records of that period.

The so-called "Old Lemen Family Notes," embraced the notes of Rev. James Lemen, Sr., which he began to keep in Virginia during the war for independence, about a dozen of them being made by him during his campaign as a soldier in the Yorktown siege, and a little later they described his friendships and meetings with Jefferson and refer to their anti-slavery pact of agreement, and he continued them in Illinois down, nearly, to the time of his death, which occurred in 1823, at New Design, Monroe county, Illinois. In 1805 his son (my father) Rev. James Lemen, Jr., began keeping his notes, and as he was in public life for many years, being a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1818, and a member of the territorial legislatures in Kaskaskia, and the State Legislature in Vandalia and Springfield, and also a minister of the Gospel, he knew every public man in Illinois, down to the time of his death in 1870, and his notes comprised sketches, histories, letters and notes of all kinds; and the so-called "family notes" covered a period of nearly a century and a quarter from the present, or the whole period of Illinois history, and several years of notes in Virginia, counting my father's and his father's notes, all of which finally came into my father's hands and keeping.

As these notes are the foundation of all that has been written on the Jefferson-Lemen matter and many other historical matters of general interest, something should be said of their authenticity. According to Governor Reynolds and Dr. J. M. Peck, these "family notes" were the only written, connected and authentic set of such notes ever kept in Illinois. Both Reynolds and Ford received and used many of them from parties who had read them, not wishing to come to Rev. James Lemen, Jr., to actually get them for themselves, for fear of a little cost, though he would have charged them nothing. But they sent their work to him to examine, and they had gotten so many of the facts wrong that he simply marked off, that is, scratched out the words, "Lemen family notes," not wishing them to appear as sponsor for such statements, and returned their manuscripts to the writers. Shortly before Dr. Peck's death, he had made a little book which he called "an index of errors corrected," and he used the family notes to correct them. The errors were those in early Illinois histories, but he died before his book was published and it was lost, with his papers and some of our family notes, which he had borrowed. These notes consist of observations and papers written largely by people who were witnesses of or actors in the events they describe, and, of course, are more authentic than statements resting on mere hearsay, or oral traditions.

We will now explain a little more fully than we have ever yet cared to do in the newspapers the whole Jefferson-Lemen matter; and it will divest it of a good deal of the glamor and glory with which people invest it, that do not know all the inside facts.

Jefferson was always strangely infatuated with Lemen. When he was a little child he made an idol of him and in his young manhood, it was his soul's delight to help him. Lemen was a born enthusiast against slavery, and he got up his scheme of the "pact" and an anti-slavery mission to Illinois as much to get Lemen to go as for his own ends. He wanted to make the northwest territory free, and as he believed, Illinois held grand opportunities for any young man of Lemen's tastes and grit and that he would grow into a great leader and would be just as likely to do as much toward making the young territory free as any of his acquaintances, and his trap worked and Lemen went. And that is all there is of it. It was nothing but an incident in Jefferson's great love for Lemen, and as this pact was well known in the early days, his sons were indifferent about publishing the mere "pact" or facts of the agreement. Another reason for their indifference in the matter, was that some one, shortly before Mr. Lemen's death, told him that Jefferson was or had become an infidel. This greatly distressed him and he wept bitterly lest it should be said that in his great life work of forming churches he was in alliance with an infidel, for other ends, if his "pact" with Jefferson were known, and he exacted a pledge from his sons, his brother-in-law, Rev. Benjamin Ogle and S. H. Biggs, the only parties then living who knew the facts, except General Harrison, that during his life and theirs, the matter should not be published and they all kept their pledges in spirit, only a few warm friends, Douglas, Trumbull, Lincoln and a few others, being entrusted with the secret.

The country enjoying all the benefits springing from the "pact," his sons finally concluded that the mere matter or agreement itself should never be published, but as the pact, or rather its results were a part of the history of Bethel church, that church itself being one of the results of Lemen's anti-slavery mission under the pact, Rev. James Lemen, Jr., had Dr. Peck write a history of it to be kept by his family when he wrote the history of Bethel church in 1851. In that history, Dr. Peck advised my father to have the pact, with all its facts, published sometime, and Lincoln, Douglas, Trumbull and others, a little later on, also advised it. Shortly before my father's death, in 1870, he instructed my brother, Sylvester, and myself to have the matter published, subject to certain conditions, if the family wished, but my brother died soon, and it was decided to hold it with some other matter to go into a proposed history of our father, Rev. James Lemen, Jr., and his father, and thus several causes have operated to delay publication, with some others not yet mentioned.

Some years ago assisted with information by the family in Illinois, Virginia and elsewhere Frank B. Lemen of Collinsville, Illinois, compiled and published "The Lemen Family History," but only brief mention was made of the fact that Rev. James Lemen Sr., came to Illinois at Jefferson's wish to oppose slavery, and the meetings of Abraham Lincoln and Rev. James Lemen, Jr., covering a period of nearly twenty years, were only briefly alluded to, as it was then our purpose to reserve these matters in detail for the proposed history of Rev. James Lemen, Jr., and his father, but more recently, our friends insisted on the publication of the Jefferson-Lemen pact or matter, and it was published in the newspapers, except a few facts of a more personal nature, which have not yet been published. Our newspaper men have been the most persistent in seeking the publication of these old family papers and notes and have even sought to purchase them. Before my father's death in 1870, they offered five hundred dollars for the whole stock of old original notes, sketches, papers, etc., and would now give more, and would also pay a good price for a full copy of them, but we have never sold any. The older and more important set, at my father's orders, was placed in a safe deposit in St. Louis, before his death. They embraced letters from Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Lincoln, Douglas, Trumbull, the martyr Lovejoy, Dr. Peck, Dr. Buckley and many others, with brief histories, sketches, notes in diaries and much other matter, but full copies of all were first made for use, except a sketch by Dr. Peck for the history of Rev. James Lemen, Jr., and the letters which were too numerous to copy, but the full facts and extracts of all of them, of any public importance were made. All of the old set will remain in St. Louis, until after the "Rev. James Lemen, Jr. history" is made and out, and then it is expected that all the papers, old, original, later or copies, now in the vaults or in the hands of the family, will be collected and placed in a safe vault in the keeping of a member of the family, where all can see them and get copies, if desired, though that will be unnecessary, as it is intended to publish everything of any interest in all the family notes in the Rev. James Lemen, Jr. history, now in contemplation. In a letter recently, I promised some of our friends to have photographic or fac simile copies of some of our most important letters made for the book, but I now recall that copies so taken once were said to be scarcely readable, as the originals were too much worn to give good impressions and that will not be possible, but all will be printed or published in the book.

By use and abuse in loaning out the copy of the family notes made before the old set was taken to St. Louis, it was much worn, and the steady use of many of the notes in making the "Lemen family history" rendered them too indistinct for use, and a complete new copy of all was made, which is to be given to the State Baptist Historical Society when that body shall have made for it a safety deposit vault; in the meantime the copy will be kept in a safe deposit vault at Collinsville, Illinois, where, as different papers are needed in making the Rev. James Lemen, Jr. history, it will be convenient to draw them out temporarily. And as to the copy made before Rev. James Lemen, Jr., sent the old notes to St. Louis, a part of that is in a safe deposit vault of one of our families, while the other notes were taken possession of by friends. It should be understood that if the copy made for the Baptist Society is delivered before the Rev. James Lemen, Jr., history is out, that such notes as are not then published will be withheld until the book is made.

I should have added that Douglas and Lincoln's letters to my father in a paragraph or two, showed that they rather expected that he and his brothers might finally determine to never have published the facts of the pact, and Jefferson's letter to their father referring to the matter, when he wrote him to get counter petitions against Harrison's pro-slavery demands before Congress, and that Douglas asked the privilege to print the general facts. He knew they had promised their father not to publish the facts of the pact during his life time and theirs, and he said that he would not print them but just state that Lemen, Sr., had Jefferson's advice and help in his great anti-slavery contest and that he helped Lemen's anti-slavery church which was formed to lead the movement, and the matter would be believed by all, as common sense would teach that Lemen, single-handed and alone could never have accomplished the results he did without some great power behind him, but the request of Douglas was not granted, and Dr. Peck said the same—he said if the Lemen brothers would just publish that Jefferson was behind their father in the anti-slavery contest, that nobody would doubt it, if nothing else were ever said or published as the results were so vast and far reaching. He said the inherent evidence of the statement would establish it. Douglas said the matter added a new star to Jefferson's crown of glory, and all the pioneer Lemens were great admirers of Jefferson and Lemen, Sr., loved him to his latest hour, but he and his sons, by reason of his reputed unbelief did not seem to relish the idea of publishing his connection with him in his church work, but my father thought he was not quite the confirmed unbeliever as some held him to be, and that was Dr. Peck's view of him, and, I might add, the writer's.

There is something a little misleading in the expression "The Jefferson-Lemen anti-slavery pact," which Dr. Peck and the other writers on that matter used, as it rather conveys the idea of a formal and written contract, whereas it was simply a verbal agreement in which Lemen on his part was to perform certain specific duties and Jefferson on his part was to comply with certain understandings, but there were no formal writings on this point.

Senator Douglas, in one of his letters to James Lemen, Jr., says, substantially, that as the pact was necessarily secret to insure its success, it was necessarily an oral agreement, as a written contract would imply or pre-suppose some means of enforcing it in case of a breach; and this would have disclosed and destroyed its secrecy. The nature of the pact or agreement and Lemen's anti-slavery mission under it are fully set forth in a note or entry made by James Lemen, in his secret diary in which he recorded his several meetings with Jefferson on this matter, and its meaning is confirmed by Jefferson's letter to him to get up and send anti-slavery petitions to Congress to counteract Harrison's pro-slavery demands before that body, and at a later date, by Jefferson's message by Biggs to Lemen to call for a division of the churches in Illinois, and form a new anti-slavery church to lead the cause in Illinois. Lemen's notes and Jefferson's letter and message fully disclose the terms of the anti-slavery pact between the two men, but there was no formal written agreement.

There have been some articles in the newspapers relating to the Jefferson-Lemen matter by writers who wrote from memory or hearsay, that were a little in error in some respects. One article says James Lemen and his big sons made their voyage on the Ohio river to Illinois, under Jefferson's orders to settle here and oppose slavery, with a flag over their flat boat bearing the good words "Friends to humanity;" which in spirit was pretty nearly true, though the big boys were only babies then, but later he had plenty of big boys who helped him battle for freedom. And another article says, Jefferson gave James Lemen $30.00 when he was to come to Illinois, to give the man who would build the first protestant meeting house in the northwestern territory, and this was nearly true. When Mr. Lemen was sick in Virginia, in 1785, which, with his wife's sickness, prevented him from coming to Illinois in that year, Jefferson's financial agent gave him $30.00 to help his family (which had no connection with the funds he gave Lemen in December, 1785,) (heretofore mentioned); he did not want to take it, and, as Lemen had said before, he could serve Jefferson's anti-slavery mission better by forming churches in Illinois than any other way, if he were a Christian or professor of religion. The agent laughingly told him to take the $30.00 for the first church he built in Illinois, and so that story was not very far from the fact. This story was based on a note made by Rev. James Lemen, Sr., when he was ill in Virginia, and the fact is also mentioned in the writings of Rev. James Lemen, Jr.

The foregoing facts, I believe, comprise everything of general interest which I can now state about the "Jefferson-Lemen anti-slavery pact," and the Lemen family notes, until after the Rev. James Lemen, Jr., history is out. And I greatly regret that I can put them in no better shape for the Historical Society, but my increasing illness makes it impossible.

O'Fallon, Illinois, November 19, 1907.

After considering the matter a little more fully, and recalling that this will probably be put on file by the State Historical Society, it has occurred to me that some further facts of considerable importance, but not bearing on the Jefferson-Lemen matter should be incorporated in the paper. In this connection, it might be of interest to give some of the facts and details in what is called the "Lincoln-Lemen interviews," which cover a period of about twenty years of the intimate friendship and associations and confidences of Abraham Lincoln and Rev. James Lemen, Jr. Mr. Lemen was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1818, being one of the several anti-slavery members who were chosen at the secret suggestion of the anti-slavery church (or a council of its members) created under the Jefferson-Lemen pact at Jefferson's suggestion, to lead the movement in Illinois. For many years he was a member of one or the other of the Houses, and sat in the three capitals, Kaskaskia, Vandalia and Springfield. His first meeting with Mr. Lincoln was at Vandalia in 1837. The men seemed singularly constituted and especially destined and qualified for each other. The first evening they met, they sat till midnight with each other and from that on for twenty years they were often thrown together for weeks at Vandalia, Springfield and elsewhere, and as Lemen was a preacher, Lincoln seemed to make him his religious adviser, as he said he found his advice and labors good antidotes for his melancholy, which, as I know, was his burden of life, and they generally devoted two or three evenings per week to each other's company. Lemen's cousins, the older Mathenys and Ward Lemen, would often drop in on their interviews at Springfield, but as Lincoln's wish was generally to be alone with Mr. Lemen, the others were not late sitters, but often Lincoln and Lemen would sit to twelve or two o'clock, and at their last meeting at Springfield, in 1856, they sat all night. Their talks were chiefly on the bible and kindred subjects, and Lincoln often had Lemen offer prayers, and on several occasions he made prayers himself, though, strange to say, it greatly embarrassed him, and he freely confessed it. On the last meeting Lincoln made a prayer of such force and beauty that Lemen asked if he could repeat it, which he did and he [Lemen] made a copy, which the family now have. At their parting Lincoln expressed a wish for an agreement that they should always remember each other in prayer, and another rather singular one, that the one surviving, at the other's demise would offer a prayer that his life and labors might prove a blessing to the world. After Lincoln's death, Mr. Lemen called his family in and made the prayer agreed upon, and when the Lemen's made their family history some years ago, they put that prayer in it, with a brief mention of the Lincoln-Lemen friendship, but did not give the details. In fact, the family did not feel at liberty to do that until Robert Lincoln had first seen the matter, as the confidence of the two men was so profound and their friendship so devoted.

In 1866, Rev. James Lemen, Jr., who had kept a record of all their meetings, made the matter, with his prayer and Lincoln's into quite a little history, of nine pages of legal-cap paper, and more recently we sent Mr. Robert Lincoln a copy of it, and as he returned our family a neatly made typewritten copy and kept one for himself, with a letter of warm thanks for our paper, we take it that we can publish the matter now with propriety, and we expect to insert it in the Rev. James Lemen, Jr. history. It might be added here, that Ward Lamon, Lincoln's law partner, was James Lemen's cousin, and that he spelled his name "Lamon" to retain the old sound of our name in Scotland, twenty-five or fifty years ago, but his brothers spelled their name "Lemen." My father introduced him to Lincoln, and commended him for his partner. "Lemen" (Lamon) was a good, warm friend of Lincoln's but his history of him shows he had no correct or adequate idea of Lincoln's true moral constitution, nor of his profound views of sacred and holy matters, and Lincoln liked him, but on occasion had no reverence nor regard for Lamon as a theologian, as on one occasion when he and Lemen were discussing a bible theme, Lamon "butted in" so to speak with his observation, when Lincoln told him he "knew less about theology than Balaam's mule did of Heaven." It will interest our friends to know something about the old notes kept by Rev. James Lemen, Sr. His first twelve or thirteen notes which have been preserved tell of the progress of our allies at the Yorktown siege. He was in that contest and one of his notes made on the field tells about his bearing a message from his Colonel to Washington whom he personally knew. Another tells of his being detailed with some others to assault and carry one of the British redoubts under LaFayette, where he lost nine killed, and thirty-four wounded. At a later date he tells, in several notes, of meeting Jefferson, their first meeting, about Lemen coming to Illinois was mentioned in a note dated at Harper's Ferry, Va., December 11, 1782, as well as I can make out the figures, the purport of which discloses that Jefferson then had a secret purpose to dedicate the northwest territory to freedom. Lemen's notes shed a good deal of light indirectly on the causes leading up to the anti-slavery clause in the ordinance of 1787. Jefferson's secret hidden power and purpose had more to do with that than some people are aware of. One of his notes describes their meeting at Annapolis, Maryland, on May 2, 1784, when Jefferson and he made their anti-slavery "pact." Another tells of Jefferson's letter to him, requesting him to get counter (anti-slavery) petitions signed and sent to Congress to meet Harrison's pro-slavery demands before that body, and another tells of Jefferson's letter to him warning him against Aaron Burr's schemes and agents, but it says the letter reached him after Burr's agent had called and departed, otherwise he would have arrested him. These letters are among the old family notes in the vault in St. Louis. In its proper connection we should have mentioned and corrected an error which, by an oversight, was printed in the "Lemen family history," which made it appear that Rev. James Lemen, Sr., was curtailed by reason of his anti-slavery views and labors, one-half in his land rights as an old Revolutionary soldier, which was wholly erroneous, as the records will show. The statement grew out of the fact that Lemen's wife only shared in her father's lands about one-half of her equitable interests, as was the case with her sisters; and by mistake, her husband was mentioned as the sufferer.

The so-called "Lemen family notes," contain the only true facts of the early church histories of both the Baptist and Methodist churches in

Illinois. Recently, Dr. Peck's brief early Baptist church history of Illinois, which he had collected and arranged from these notes some fifty years ago was completed and published in the papers. It was among Dr. Peck's last works, and he died before he fully completed the sketch. The only correct history of the M. E. churches in Illinois was obtained from these notes. It tells where, when and by whom the first, second and third M. E. churches in Illinois were formed, names their class leader, gives the day the first M. E. meeting house was raised and here the ladies gave a dinner on the grounds; gives the day that Bishop McKendree constituted the first M. E. church in Illinois, and a verbatim copy of his address to it, and many other facts about our early churches.

It was always a mystery how Governor William Henry Harrison got hold of the secret that Jefferson sent Lemen to Illinois on an anti-slavery mission. Rev. Lemen, Sr., thought that Jefferson might finally have given him the matter as a hint not to further press for the pro-slavery interests in the territory; but Lemen said Harrison never gave Jefferson away, so far as he could learn.

A few words about our old family relics would perhaps interest our friends. Old spinning wheels, reels, winding blades, looms, bed steads, with posts seven feet high, and six inches square, hand cards for carding wool or cotton rolls, etc., our family preserved all these, but different branches of our family have mostly carried them away. We have an old wooden clock, still running, that has been keeping time for ninety years, and the clock makers say it will run another hundred years; also a little rude black walnut box, 20 x 12 x 7 inches, with wooden hinges, made by Rev. James Lemen, Sr., with axe and hunting knife, in Fort Piggott, Monroe county, Illinois, 1787, to hold his papers when our old pioneers were collected there on account of Indian threats. It has contained some of our family papers for eighty years, as it fell to my father as a keepsake. It has also accumulated something more of historical interest on account of having held Abraham Lincoln's law papers for a week. In 1856 Mr. Lincoln had expressed a wish to read our old family notes and papers, and during my father's visit to Springfield in that year, he took the papers with him in the little box, and when Lincoln learned its history he said, for its association, he would like to keep his papers in it and removing our notes, he placed his papers in it and kept it on his table in his office for a week.

At the late Baptist State Convention at Bloomington, our friends up there asked us to send some old reminder of Rev. James Lemen, Sr., for the people to see, as the Baptists had proposed to make a fund for his monument as the founder of their first churches in Illinois, and we sent the box, and it received quite an ovation and the convention added $300.00 to the monument fund in a few minutes.

In addition to the leading facts and results of the "Jefferson-Lemen anti-slavery pact," mentioned in this paper, some other facts from the old "Lemen family notes" have been given. All these facts were hastily collected from the "notes" for the purpose of re-writing into a better arranged and more methodical address to be read before the Chicago Historical Society, but my rapidly increasing illness makes it impossible for me to perform the added labor, and I ask my friends just to consider it in the nature of a long, rambling letter comprising the facts, but not intended as a formal or well arranged address.

I regret very much that I cannot make a good, readable copy of it, but I am too ill to attempt it, and as I may not be much better for some weeks, I will just send it as it is, to be certain to give the reader time to translate or master it before your January meeting.

I have scarcely been able to make this paper at all, and if there are any discrepancies or disagreements in the facts or dates and a line is sent to me, I will compare them with the "notes" and correct them.

O'Fallon, Illinois, December 9, 1907.

LEWIS BALDWIN PARSONS.

By Julia E. Parsons.

Among the various causes which have contributed towards giving to the great State of Illinois the position which she holds among the first of her sister states in the Union, perhaps no single one has had greater influence than the character of the men, who, coming from different sections of the country, both north and south, during the three decades preceding the war, to make their homes within her borders and to influence the future, not only of the State of their adoption, but of the entire country. In our minds arise at once the names of Lincoln, Grant, Trumbull, David Davis, McClernand, Washburne, Palmer and others, men who brought honor to their State; and who, in the great struggle for human liberty then impending, stood as leaders, whether in the councils of the nation of facing the foe on the battle field.

Among these adopted sons of Illinois, we find the subject of this sketch, Lewis Baldwin Parsons, who, with the exception of the period of the civil war and a few years preceding and subsequent to that time, was a resident of the State from the time of his leaving Harvard Law School in 1844, until his death, March 16, 1907.

Of Puritan ancestry, he was descended, on the paternal side from Cornet Joseph Parsons, who came from England with William Pyncheon and settled in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1636; and on the maternal side from Charles Hoare of Gloucester, England, whose widow came to this country in 1640 and who was the ancestor of the well known Hoare family of Quincy and Concord, Massachusetts. Charles Parsons, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was a captain in the Revolutionary army, serving from October 1775, until peace was declared in 1783, having been with Washington during the terrible winter at Valley Forge and with him also at the final surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. His son, Lewis B. Parsons, Sr., emigrated about 1811 to Western New York, at that time a remote wilderness, where he soon after married Lucina Hoar, who was like himself, a native of Massachusetts.

The life of these early pioneers was full of hardships, battling with the trials incident to the development of a new country and the struggle made strong, brave men and women. Into this family, which was both by inheritance and training of the most rigid Puritan faith, standing "strong for the right as God gave them to see it, "was born on April

5, 1818, the year which also gave birth to the State of Illinois, a son, Lewis B. Parsons, Jr. His early life was spent in Homer, New York, but when ten years old his father removed to St. Lawrence county in the northern part of the State, which was then but little settled and largely a native forest. Here school advantages were very limited but with the same earnestness and perseverance which characterized his later life, the boy made the best of his opportunities and at the age of sixteen was teaching a small country school in what is now known as the Thousand Island region. That even then he showed more than ordinary originality and force of character, is evidenced by the fact that when visiting that section sixty years after, he found two of his former pupils still living, who distinctly recalled him and his manner of teaching.

He continued his studies as best he could, until 1836, when at the age of eighteen he started for New Haven to enter Yale college. It was at this time he saw a railroad, the first in the State having been recently opened from Utica to Albany, from which point, he went by boat to New York and thence to New Haven. Entering Yale college with the class of 1840, he found himself so poorly prepared that it was only by the closest application he was able to keep up with his class, with the result that while the end of Sophomore year found him with a good standing, the over-study had seriously affected his health. At this time, moreover, his father, having now a family of ten children, of whom the subject of our sketch was one of the oldest and having only a moderate income, became unable to give his son further assistance and advised his giving up college and going into business. With characteristic courage and determination the young man, after careful consideration, decided to finish the course, borrowing money from a relative and depending upon his own exertions in the future to repay it. To this end he taught a classical school in Western New York during the winter of his senior year, having among his scholars Thomas Cooley—afterwards Judge Cooley, the great authority on Constitutional law, who became a life long friend. Of this period, with its struggles, he wrote later in life, "Having determined to graduate, my ambition sustained me in the effort and though I could not secure the standing I desired, yet I believe it was such as to gain for me the respect of instructors and classmates, and their kindly regard through life. I have never regretted my persistence. The training I secured, the tastes then formed, the life long friendships of so many men of influence and high character, with many of whom my relations have been intimate, have been sources of great enjoyment."

After graduating from college he and two classmates took passage in a sailing vessel for New Orleans to try their fortunes, but yellow fever being then of frequent recurrence there, Parsons decided to go farther north, where he had other college friends and finally made his way to Noxuba county, Mississippi, where he took charge of a classical school, remaining for nearly two years.

His residence there had a very important effect upon his later life, as he learned by personal observation more fully to understand the evils of slavery. At first, charmed with the agreeable social surroundings and with the delightful hospitality then customary on Southern plantations, so different from his earlier experiences in the north, he thought of settling permanently in the south. But as time passed and he learned more of the injurious effects of slavery upon the individual as well as the community, his opinions changed and in 1842, the earnest solicitations of his father, added to his own inclinations, decided him to return to the north. Although he never regretted his decision, still he always looked back upon the time spent in the south as among the happiest years of his life and the friendships formed there were a lasting pleasure.

Going north by way of the Mississippi river, he landed at St. Louis, then went on to Galena and by stage across Illinois, which he describes as "almost entirely unsettled, but one of the loveliest countries" he had ever seen; thence to Milwaukee and around the Lakes to Buffalo. His school had proved most successful and he had now accumulated enough money to pay his college indebtedness and to enable him to carry out the plan formed early in life of studying law. Thus the autumn of 1842 found him settled at Cambridge and hard at work among the group of earnest young men, some of whom became life long friends. Judge Story of the United States Supreme Court and Judge Greenleaf were then at the head of the Harvard law school and to the ambitious young man, it was of the greatest value to have the opportunity for training and discipline under these eminent lawyers. He often described in later years, the impression also upon his mind at this time, by seeing Webster, then at the height of his fame; and whom he would turn to follow, as he walked along the streets of Boston, seizing every opportunity also, of hearing him speak.

On leaving Cambridge in 1844, Parsons determined to seek his fortunes in the west and, buying a small law library in New York, he started out like many other young men of the period, with only such capital as came from his natural ability, his education and his determination to succeed. Stopping in Washington, he spent some weeks listening to the debates in the Senate on the tariff question, which were then exciting deep interest and which were led by Webster, Clay, Benton, Silas Wright and others of our greatest men. Previous to that time, his political opinions had not been fixed, though his father having been a strong Whig, it would have seemed natural that the son should have had similar views, but after hearing these discussions he became through conviction a Democrat and having once decided, his principles never changed.

From Washington he went to Wheeling, Cincinnati, Dayton, where he was strongly inclined to settle, and thence to St. Louis, at that time a place of 27,000 inhabitants and beginning to attract much attention. Here he expected to remain, intending to open an office and begin the practice of his profession, but meeting some Yale graduates, he learned from one of them, Mr. Hall, that he had recently come from Alton, where his former partner, Newton D. Strong was still practicing and, having a large business, was anxious to take in a younger man as partner. It being a question of necessity with Mr. Parsons to secure as promptly as possible some means of support, he accepted the offer of Mr. Hall to go up the river and the following day found him in Alton with a group of Yale men, Mr. Strong among them, enjoying the reminiscences of college days. After a most agreeable evening they separated and on the following day, April 5, 1844, Mr. Strong made him an offer of full partnership. This, to the young man without experience in the practice of law, was most unexpected and he accepted it gladly, being admitted to the bar within a few days and at once entering upon the practice of his profession with the energy and singleness of purpose characteristic of him through life. Of the next ten years, he has left few memoranda, for it was a period of intense activity, not only in his private business and his profession, but also in affairs pertaining to the general development of the country.

His partner, Mr. Strong, was of a good old New England family, a brother of Justice Strong of the Supreme Court of the United States, a man of great natural ability, as well as thorough training in his profession and of high moral character and refinement, and the business connection thus formed, proved not only advantageous to Mr. Parsons, but eminently agreeable and satisfactory to both partners. At the end of two years, however, Mr. Strong returned to the east to live and Mr. Parsons formed a partnership with Judge Henry W. Billings, which continued for several years, until he removed to St. Louis.

Of his character at this time the history of Madison county says: "He had the reputation of being a sound, industrious lawyer; his forte, however, consisted in his remarkable business capacity. At the bar, he was always confided in, as an enterprising attentive, successful and honorable member of the profession." During his residence in Alton not only was he eminently successful in the practice of law, but he also accumulated a competency through the purchase of lands, which could then be bought at a very low price, increasing greatly in value in a few years. He, moreover, made an acquaintance with the foremost men of his profession, as well as with leading men throughout the State and formed friendships which gave him great pleasure and which proved of value to him later when conducting the duties of his office as chief of transportation throughout the west.

In 1847 he married Sarah G. Edwards, the daughter of Dr. Benjamin F. Edwards and niece of Governor Ninian Edwards, who died not long after, and in 1852 he married her younger sister.

In 1854 he removed to St. Louis, continuing the practice of his profession. Among his clients was the banking firm of Page and Bacon, who at that time were engaged in the building of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, now the Baltimore and Ohio Southwestern, from St. Louis to Cincinnati, and holding a controlling interest in it, they induced him to leave his general practice and give his entire attention to their affairs. He removed temporarily to Cincinnati, where he became deeply interested in the building of the road, as attorney and financial agent, and after its completion in 1857 retained his connection with it for many years, being at various times, treasurer, director and president.

It was while traveling on horseback in 1854 over the proposed line of this road through southern Illinois, that he first saw the tract of land which he bought soon after and which eventually became his home. At that time an unbroken prairie, crossed by the old "Vincennes Trace," with deer, prairie chicken and other wild game abounding, it was a beautiful sight, and its gradual improvement and cultivation became a great source of interest to him.

Soon after the opening of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, General, then Captain George B. McClellan became its vice president and a warm attachment between him and Mr. Parsons was formed.

Having lost his wife in 1857, he planned to give up business as soon as he could arrange his affairs and go abroad, but the unsettled condition of the country and fears for the future, caused him to change these plans, and in 1860 retiring from active connection with the railroad, he returned to St. Louis to watch the progress of events, later spending the winter of 1860-61, in Washington as a deeply interested spectator. His letters written during this time show his intense feeling against the course pursued by Buchanan and his advisers, together with the fear that no way would be found of settling the great question at issue, except through a terrible civil war.

In the spring of 1861 he returned to St. Louis where the secessionists were largely in control and aided by the Governor and Legislature, had planned to turn the state of Missouri over to the confederacy. This was prevented by the prompt action of General Lyon and at the capture of Camp Jackson, May 10, 1861, Mr. Parsons was beside General (then Colonel) Frank P. Blair, serving as volunteer aide. Realizing the certainty of war, although past the age of military service, he determined as he wrote "to give all aid in my power, for the preservation of the government, as my grandfather had given seven years of his life during the Revolutionary war," and beginning at once to arrange his private affairs so that they could be left, he wrote in the early autumn to General McClellan, offering his services in any position where the general thought he could be of use. In response, McClellan desired him to come to Washington and on his arrival there, gave him a position on his staff, with the rank of captain. Soon finding that this position "involved no special duties or responsibilities" and being exceedingly anxious to go into active service, Captain Parsons asked permission to resign, that he might return to the west and raise a regiment. General McClellan, however, having knowledge of his business ability, urged that he could be of more service to the government by remaining in the quartermaster's department and he was therefore transferred to the west and assigned to duty under General Robert Allen, then chief quartermaster in charge at St. Louis.

Here his first service was on a commission with General (then Captain) Phil Sheridan and Captain Hoyt, to examine the great mass of claims that had arisen under Fremont's administration. These claims proved to be of such irregular and in some cases, fraudulent character, involving such large amounts of money and requiring such careful investigation, that it was finally decided to turn them over to a civil commission, composed of Judge David Davis and Joseph Holt, Judge Advocate General of the United States.

Being released from this service, Captain Parsons sought again to be permitted to go to the front, but he had already so clearly shown his superior business and executive ability, that his personal wishes were not heeded, and soon after he received from General Allen the following order, dated December 9, 1861: "You will take charge of all the transportation pertaining to the department of the Mississippi by river and railroad and discharge all employés not required to facilitate this particular service." As this department included the Mississippi and its tributaries, the territory it covered "extended from the Yellowstone to Pittsburg and New Orleans," the lower Mississippi coming under actual control, as fast as the Confederates were driven back.

By the country at large, this vast work of transportation "behind the scenes," as it were, in the great drama of war then being enacted, was but little known or considered and even after so many years, has never yet received its due recognition. John Fiske, the historian, writing to General Parsons in January, 1901, said, "I am hoping to make use of your reports when I come to treat of the civil war as a whole, which I hope to live long enough to do," but not many months later, the pen of this gifted writer was laid down forever and this chapter of the history of the civil war, still waits to be written.

But by the leaders in that struggle, the generals in the field, planning for battles, where delay in any particular might mean defeat and fearful disaster, the importance of the proper management of the transportation department was fully understood, and it was most fortunate that the officer now put in charge of this department was a man with remarkable talent for organization, of great executive ability and the highest integrity, united to the most intense loyalty to his country, and devotion to duty in her service.

The army regulations of that time being intended for an army of some 15,000 men in a time of peace, were totally inadequate for the great numbers thus suddenly brought into service, who must be transported over long distances and who required enormous quantities of supplies of every kind, which must be forwarded with utmost promptness and dispatch. Great confusion had therefore resulted and Captain Parsons first turned his attention to remedying the evils connected with the railroad service, where owing to the fact that any officer could give orders for transportation, the railroads, though loyally struggling to meet every demand upon them, were not able to furnish the large amount of requisitions. At the same time they held vouchers in great quantities, for which they could not receive payment, the consequence being that there were endless complaints and general discontent on the part of the railroads, with constant delays and resulting danger to the armies in the field. A few simple, concise regulations and forms fixing responsibility were prepared by Captain Parsons, which proved so successful in bringing about system and order and were so satisfactory to the railroads.

that they were adopted throughout the west, as the basis of government transportation throughout the war; and subsequently, with other regulations added by General Parsons, became the basis of general rules for army transportation, still in use.

The system thus introduced in railroad transportation proving so satisfactory, Captain Parsons next sought a remedy for the evils connected with the steam-boat transportation, which were even greater than those of the railroads. During Fremont's administration large numbers of boats had been engaged by charter, and while still receiving pay for their services were much of the time lying idle at enormous expense to the government. A large majority of both steamboat owners and employés on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers were sympathizers with the confederacy and with the exception of a few loyal steamboat men in St. Louis, were united in their efforts to prevent any change in the system of chartering boats, and consequently the effort to remedy the wrong existing, involved far greater difficulty than with the railroads. Captain Parsons advertised for bids on government transportation on an ordinary business basis, and it at once became evident that the opportunity for making large profits out of the government service would soon be at an end. Hence great antagonism to the new system was aroused, every effort being made to prevent its being put into successful operation, as well as to secure the removal of Captain Parsons from office. Finding appeals to his immediate superiors unsuccessful, a protest was sent to the Secretary of War, which Mr. Stanton referred to Quartermaster General Meigs and which the latter returned to Captain Parsons for explanation. In the meantime the changes made were beginning to bring about such great improvement in the service, that when in reply Captain Parsons sent a statement of facts, offering to resign if his course met with the disapproval of government, the only answer he received was a letter from General Meigs in which he said: "I am glad to recognize the fidelity with which you have performed your duty to the department and to the country."

From this time Captain Parsons had the increasing confidence of Secretary Stanton and General Meigs, and was able to carry through the reforms he desired, with the result that the business was done with system and order, at a greatly reduced cost to government, and with an efficiency and promptness which enabled it to be said that "seldom have any requisitions been in this office over two days and the great majority have been answered within twenty-four hours."

The importance of systematic river transportation throughout the Mississippi Valley can only be properly estimated by recalling the armies operating in that region, the enormous quantities of supplies necessary for them and the great battles fought there, wherein "the victories of action were made possible by the victories of organization." The difficulties in the way of such organization seemed almost insurmountable, requiring the utmost vigilance and unremitting labor, while even with the most carefully prepared rules and regulations and the assistance of efficient and capable officers there were incessant complaints, rendering the position one most distateful to a man of Captain Parsons' temperament, who desired the more active duties of field service. He therefore again requested to be allowed to resign from the quartermaster's department, this time addressing himself to Secretary Stanton in person, who replied in his emphatic manner: "It is the duty of a good officer to go where his superiors think he can be of the most service. You, as well as I know where that is, and you must stay there." His retention in this department was therefore settled and in April, 1862, he was promoted to the rank of colonel and assigned as aide on the staff of General Halleck, then in command at St. Louis.

At the opening of the war the government held no point south of Cairo and to this place Captain Parsons was ordered in December, 1861, to consult with General Grant in person, as to the boats necessary for the proposed movement on Forts Henry and Donelson, and on the 2d and 3d of February, 15,000 men were put on transports, proceeded to Paducah, thence up the Tennessee, and on the 6th, Fort Henry was captured. A part of the forces were then re-embarked—moved down the Tennessee and up the Cumberland, a distance of one hundred and ten miles and joining with the troops that had marched overland, captured Fort Donelson on the 16th. After the fall of these forts, the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers were opened and the capture of Corinth a few months later, opened the Mississippi to Memphis, but it was not until after the fall of Vicksburg that the river to New Orleans was passable and even until the close of the war, bands of guerillas made transportation dangerous.

The great extent of river navigation, as well as the constant difficulties and dangers under which it was carried on may be shown by an extract from General Parsons' final report in 1865 in which he says: "From Brownville, the head of navigation on the Monongahela in Pennsylvania, via Pittsburg, down the Ohio to Cairo; up the Mississippi to the Missouri, then to Fort Benton, the head of navigation on the Missouri, a distance of 2,500 miles, the south or west of these rivers has, during the war been constantly subject to incursions of the Rebels, or Indian savages, instigated by them to hostility; while the 400 miles of the Tennessee, 300 miles of the Cumberland, 350 miles of the White river, 650 miles of the Arkansas to Fort Gibson, 150 miles of the Yazoo, 620 miles of the Red river, and 1,150 miles of the Mississippi below Cairo, were long under their control."

To give in the space of a brief article any comprehension of the vast amount of supplies required for armies thus scattered over thousands of miles, or to show the rapidity and safety with which large numbers of troops were moved from point to point is impossible. In a report covering the first three years of his service, Colonel Parsons was able to say that up to that time, there had been "no accident to any boat in Government service, resulting in any material loss of life, and this too, when there was an extended organization for the sole purpose of the destruction of river transports." While General Sherman bears testimony to the fact "that no military movement in the west has failed or faltered for lack of transportation" and that "the wants of armies in the field have been anticipated and met with alacrity and dispatch." Again quoting from a report of Colonel Parsons, "it will be seen that at this time, the large armies of Grant, Sherman, Rosecrans, Banks and Steele were almost exclusively dependent upon river transports for their reinforcements and immense supplies."

In May, 1862, Colonel Parsons accompanied General Halleck south as a member of his staff, expecting to see active service in the field, but was able to remain only long enough to witness the evacuation of Corinth, when his duties necessitated his return to St. Louis.

Early in December, General Grant, then near Oxford, Mississippi, made the first order for gathering forces for the attack on Vicksburg and on the 11th, Colonel Parsons was ordered to have transportation at Memphis by the 18th to move General Sherman's army of 40,000 men, with cavalry, artillery and animals, to Vicksburg. Notwithstanding the great difficulties involved in collecting the large number of boats necessary, with fuel sufficient for the movement, in the short space of time allowed, the order was carried out, sixty-seven large boats arriving at Memphis on the 18th, besides many smaller transports. Within forty hours the army was embarked and on its way south and on the 26th was again dis-embarked and ready for the battle of Chickasaw Bayou. After a desperate but unsuccessful engagement of two days, the army, being in a dangerous position, "was re-embarked within sixteen hours, transported more than three hundred miles up the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers, again landed, fought a successful battle under General McClernand, captured the strong fortification of Arkansas Post with 7,000 prisoners, destroyed the enemies' works, dispatched its prisoners northward, re-embarked, returned more than 300 miles south and commenced the siege of Vicksburg." During all these movements Colonel Parsons took personal charge of the transport fleet accompanying the army, first as Volunteer Aide on General Sherman's staff, later on the staff of General McClernand, who held command at Arkansas Post; and after the commencement of the siege, on General Grant's staff, until he was called north at the end of February.

In connection with his return to the north at this time, an incident occurred, illustrative of General Grant's thoughtfulness and kindness to his subordinate officers. Colonel Parsons had especially desired to serve under General Grant and expressing to him his regret that he was called away before Vicksburg was taken, the General quietly answered, "that will not be soon. However, if you would really like to be present, I will try to let you know, so that if your duties will permit, you can come down." Colonel Parsons attached no importance to this remark but in the latter part of June, he received a letter from General Grant, in which he said, "I think if your duties will permit of your coming down here soon, you will be in time to see the end of the siege." Greatly to Colonel Parsons' regret however, this was not possible.

A few other brief reports might be given of movements made about this time. In June 1863 General Burnsides' army of 10,000 men then in central Kentucky, being needed to reinforce General Grant at Vicksburg, "was with its artillery, transported rapidly by rail through a part of Kentucky and Ohio, across southern Indiana and Illinois to Cairo, where transports were waiting and within four days reached its destination, over 1,000 miles from the point of departure." During this same summer of 1863, the Indians being troublesome on the upper Missouri, one of the largest expeditions ever fitted out by government, was sent against them, consisting of about 5,000 men, with several thousand tons of stores, under the command of Generals Sully and Sibley, being transported some 2,000 miles up the Missouri and the Yellowstone, while in the following summer another large body of troops with several thousand tons of supplies was sent to the same point.

During the autumn of 1863, plans began to be made for Sherman's march to the sea, and as he had gathered over 100,000 men near Nashville, the amount of supplies required was enormous, not only for daily consumption for men and animals, but to provide for the future, when his army should be marching through the enemy's country. This difficult problem was given to Colonel Parsons to solve and he at once began plans for accumulating at Nashville during the few months in which the Cumberland river was navigable, thousands of tons of supplies of every kind, so that they could be quickly transported as needed during the following summer to other points in eastern Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia. There being no light draught boats suitable for use on the rivers, saw-mills were fitted up, a machine shop built at Bridgeport, Alabama, on the upper Tennessee and within nine months, thirteen steamboats, four of which were partially iron-clad, were completed. The one line of railroad through this section was repaired and equipped, material being brought from the north for the purpose, and large quantities of lumber were sawed to make sheds in which to store the supplies as fast as unloaded. In the meantime there had been gathered at St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati and other points in the north, immense quantities of stores, which were pushed forward as soon as navigation opened, pouring into Nashville, so that "by the time the season permitted General Sherman to open the campaign, the store-houses were filled, and in addition, immense stores of forage, grain, and hay were stacked under shelter of tarpaulins as provision against all possible wants." As a result General Sherman's Chief Quartermaster reported that in July, 1864, "the army was 250 miles from Nashville with 100,000 men and 80,000 animals, but notwithstanding this formidable force and its great distance from its base of supplies, connected by a single line of railroad running through mountain fastnesses, liable to be cut at any time, it never suffered for any essential supply but had abundance of everything needed, from the moment it left Chattanooga to the fall of Atlanta." Another officer writing a few months later to Colonel Parsons, said, "But few will know how to trace Sherman's success and present brilliant prospects to that problem (of transportation in the solution of which you you were the guiding spirit."

In August, 1864, Colonel Parsons was given charge of all rail and river transportation of the armies of the United States and ordered to Washington, where he was stationed during the remainder of the war. In January, 1865, General Grant desired Colonel Schofield's army brought from Mississippi to aid in the movements around Richmond, but hesitated to order it, thinking it would be impracticable at that season of the year to safely bring so large a body of men over the mountains and in sufficient time to answer his purpose, forty to sixty days being the shortest period thought possible. Colonel Parsons said he thought it could be done in thirty days, but the army of 20,000 men with all its artillery and over 1,000 animals was transported a distance of nearly 1,400 miles, during the severest cold of the winter, within an average time of eleven days, or less than seventeen days from the embarkation of the first troops until the arrival of the last in Washington, and without loss of property or of a single life. It was this movement which called forth from Secretary Stanton the remark that "it was without a parallel in the history of armies," and which elicited highest praise for the marvels of our transportation service, from English, French and German writers, while as recently as during the Spanish war a newspaper editorial stated that "the American Civil War still holds the record for transporting a large body of troops, over a long distance in the shortest time."

Colonel Parson's services in this department had now extended over nearly three years and had been of the most arduous and responsible nature, but though uniformly successful, they had received no recognition from the government in the only way, in which they could be recognized—by the promotion which his many friends thought he had so richly earned. There had been numerous promotions in his department from the *regular army* but few from the *volunteer* service and the reason for this was given at a cabinet meeting held about this time, an account of which was given to Colonel Parsons as follows: "Recently, when the subject of the promotion of a Quartermaster to the rank of Bragadier General was being discussed at a cabinet meeting, the President mentioned Parsons. Some urged that the promotion should be given to an officer of the regular army—that such officers were regularly educated and trained up in the service for that sort of position and were better fitted by such special training. Mr. Lincoln said, "That may all be well as to your *stall fed* fellows, but Colonel Parsons is about the best *grass fed* Quartermaster we have got. I think he should have the promotion now."

The opinion of President Lincoln thus expressed in his homely, characteristic manner, was soon put into effect by the following order:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 17, 1865.

Hon. Secretary of War:

DEAR SIR—I have long thought Col. Lewis B. Parsons ought to be promoted, and intended it should have been sooner done. His long service and the uniform testimony to the ability with which he has discharged his very responsible and extended duties render it but just and proper his services should be acknowledged, and more especially so, since his great success in executing your orders for the recent movement of troops from the west.

You will therefore at once promote Col. Parsons to the rank of a Brigadier General, if there is a vacancy which can be given to the Quartermaster's Department, and if not you will so promote him when the first vacancy occurs.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

This resulted soon after in the promotion of Colonel Parsons to the rank of Brigadier General.

After the surrender of Lee, General Parsons being much out of health from his long continued and incessant duties, tendered his resignation, which Secretary Stanton declined to accept, retaining him in his position while the enormous army of nearly one million men was disbanded, the soldiers transported to their homes, and many matters of detail connected with his department finally settled. He was also at this time ordered to make a draft of army transportation regulations, which subsequently became the basis of all army transportation. It may be interesting to add, in connection with the more recent discussion in regard to maintaining a larger standing army, that the possibility of this was in the mind of Secretary Stanton, when in October, 1865, General Parsons was requested by the secretary to give his "views as to the proper organization, to adapt the Quartermaster department to the necessities of a permanent army of 100,000 men."

In May, 1866, when he again tendered his resignation, Secretary Stanton offered him the position of Colonel in the regular army, the highest position which could be given to a volunteer, saying that Americans were naturally brave and it was not difficult to find good soldiers, but that it was not always easy to secure men of business capacity and talents for organization. General Parsons' health was such that he declined this offer, when the secretary conferred on him the rank of Brevet Major General and he retired after a service of four and a half years with only twenty-one days' leave of absence during that time.

Before leaving this period of General Parsons's life, an extract is herewith given from an editorial in the New York Times of July 31, 1865, by the celebrated editor, Henry J. Raymond, whom General Parsons did not know, but who had been present at the interview between Secretary Stanton and General Parsons after the movement of General Schofield's army and who therefore probably wrote at the inspiration of the secretary himself. Mr. Raymond says, in part, "No officer of the United States army could speak with a more correct knowledge than General Parsons of the numbers and efficiency of the armies of the Union, for no one perhaps had more experience than he in their organization, subsistence and handling. We venture the assertion that if Secretary Stanton were called on to name the officer who more than any other had distinguished himself in the task of wielding the vast machinery of the Union armies during all the stages of the conflict, in response to the plans and requirements of our generals, he would, with little hesitation, designate General Lewis B. Parsons. It is to his matchless combinations that must be attributed much of the efficiency and success that almost invariably marked every military movement in the west. When the climax of General Grant's western renown was reached in the battles before Chattanooga and he was transferred to the command of all the armies, with headquarters at Washington, he lost no time in bringing General (then Colonel) Parsons to Washington to direct from that center the machinery of which he had became so completely the master. When every department of the public service during the war comes to have its true place in history there will be few with a more brilliant and enduring reputation than General Lewis B. Parsons."

To this may be added the tribute of General Grant in a farewell letter to General Parsons, as he was leaving the service. He says:

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 20, 1865.

DEAR GENERAL—I have long contemplated writing you and expressing my satisfaction with the manner in which you have discharged the very responsible and difficult duties of superintendent of river and railroad transportation for the armies both in the west and east.

The position is second in importance to no other connected with the military service, and to have been appointed to it at the beginning of a war of the magnitude and duration of this one and holding it to its close, providing transportation for whole armies with all that appertains to them for thousands of miles, adjusting accounts involving millions of money and doing justice to all, never delaying for a moment any military operations dependent upon you, meriting and receiving the commendation of your superior officers and the recognition of Government, for integrity of character and for the able and efficient manner in which you have filled it, evidences an honesty of purpose, knowledge of men, business intelligence and executive ability of the highest order, and of which any man ought to be justly proud. Wishing you a speedy return to health and duty, I remain,

Yours truly,
U. S. GRANT,
Lt. Gen.

When finally relieved from service, General Parsons' health was found to be so seriously affected that his physicians ordered entire rest and arranging his private affairs as rapidly as possible, he went abroad in the folowing year, accompanied by his oldest daughter. The next two years were spent most delightfully in traveling over Europe, as far as eastern Russia, thence to Constantinople, through Egypt and the Holy Land, returning to America in the autumn of 1869.

General Parsons now took up his residence in St. Louis and in the following winter he married Miss Elizabeth Darrah of New York City. He again became interested in business, being a director in the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, now the Baltimore and Ohio Southwestern, was also a director in the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern, now a part of the Wabash system, and for three years also the president of a bank in St. Louis.

In 1873 occurred the death of his oldest daughter in Minnesota after a long illness, followed in January, 1875, by the death in Colorado, of his oldest son, a young man of great promise, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1872 and universally beloved and respected by his classmates and friends. Crushed by these sorrows, broken in health and having experienced business reverses, General Parsons determined to go to the country and in the spring of 1875 returned to Illinois making his home on the farm at Flora which he had owned since 1855, and where he continued to reside during the following thirty-two years.

His life, though now a quiet one in comparison to that of the previous years, was not lacking in occupation. He again became interested in politics, having never renounced his Democratic principles, although strongly urged to change his party, especially during the administration of General Grant, but always responding to such solicitations that "if principles counted for anything, they should do so in politics as well as elsewhere." In 1876, he took an active part in the election of Governor Tilden, being on the State Central Committee and giving his entire time to conducting the campaign in Illinois and on that eventful 5th of March, 1877, when Hayes was being sworn in as president, spending the morning with Governor Tilden at his home in New York.

In 1877 he was elected president of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, but in the following year, when the road passed into the control of the Baltimore and Ohio, he retired.

In 1878 he was urged to accept the nomination for Congress, but though his nomination would have been equivalent to an election, he declined, not caring for public office. Two years later, however, his friends throughout Illinois so strongly urged him to accept the nomination for Governor that he consented, provided that Judge Lyman Trumbull, who was his choice for the nomination should positively refuse to accept it. When the convention met, Judge Trumbull was nominated but immediately declined and in a most eulogistic speech nominated General Parsons. He, in turn refused the nomination for himself, seconding that of Judge Trumbull, who was finally induced to accept, General Parsons being then nominated for Lieutenant Governor. During the following months of the political campaign they traveled together throughout the State and though they were unsuccessful at the election, the renewal of a friendship begun in the days when General Parsons first commenced to practice law before the Illinois bar, was a great pleasure to him, continuing with frequent correspondence until the death of Judge Trumbull.

In 1884, General Parsons was much interested in the Presidential election, was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention, and it was largely through his influence that the Illinois delegation united on Cleveland, rendering his nomination possible. In 1893 he was a delegate to the State Convention which nominated John P. Altgeld for Governor, and after the election was appointed president of the Board of Trustees of the Soldiers' Home at Quincy, an office which brought him much pleasure, recalling as it did, the active military service of earlier years and which he retained during the four years of Governor Altgeld's administration.

This was the last public position with which he was connected, but it by no means followed that even at the age of nearly 80 years he ceased to feel an active interest in the affairs of State or Nation, for as long as he lived his keen mind with its broad comprehensive vision, watched the progress of events not only at home, but throughout the world, while his firm faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and righteousness kept him in sympathy with the younger generations and prevented the pessimism natural to old age.

The development of his large farm from an open uncultivated prairie, had caused him to take deep interest in everything connected with agriculture and in 1877 being then president of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, he delivered an address before the State Dairymen's Association on "Transportation, as connected with production and exchange," for which his large experience in such matters, peculiarly fitted him. In the present day when the great question of proper railroad management, either under government supervision or with absolute government ownership, is being so earnestly discussed, it is interesting to read the remedies then suggested by General Parsons for the evils only beginning, but whose increase he foresaw, when he said the time might be coming when the question would have to be decided whether the government would possess the railroads or the railroads possess the government, while the general principles he laid down as a basis for such remedies as would prevent either alternative, are so broad and wise that they are as applicable to the present situation, as to that of thirty years ago. In his own immediate neighborhood he was always interested in everything that would be of benefit or would tend to improve and beautify the country, and he gave to the town of Flora at different times over 5,000 shade trees raised in his nurseries to be planted along the streets of the town, while on his own property he planted many more thousands, both of shade and fruit trees.

In the early days of his first coming to Illinois he had identified himself with the Presbyterian Church in Alton, then under the charge of the Rev. A. T. Norton, well known as the "Father of Presbyterianism in southern Illinois," and after his removal to Flora in 1875, the Presbyterian Church there became an object of special interest to him, and in the absence of a regular pastor, he often conducted the services and read the sermon.

The subject of education had been dear to him since the brave struggle he made for it in his own college days and when his father died in 1855, leaving his property for founding an educational institution in Iowa, the son, with his two brothers, accepted the trust. The college was opened in Fairfield, Iowa, in 1875, bearing the family name and from that time became to General Parsons an object of unremitting care through the remainder of his life, and his annual visits were considered by him as a sacred duty, as well as a great pleasure. His love for his own Alma Mater ,Yale, never ceased, and his frequent visits to New Haven for class reunions were occasions of much enjoyment, when he seemed to renew his youth, while he kept up a correspondence with some members of his class until the last year of his life. After meeting him at a Yale reunion in 1901, President Hadley wrote him: "Nothing in all my visits to Yale Alumni Associations gives me more pleasure in the remembrance than your charming speech at the Alumni dinner in St. Louis and your yet more charming personal conversation."

General Parsons also greatly enjoyed the meeting with old army friends and was a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, of the Loyal Legion and vice president of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, as also a member of the societies of Colonial Wars and of the Sons of the Revolution. He had always since the close of the war, longed to see a restoration of kindly understanding and sympathy between the north and the south. And when a subscription was being raised to erect a monument in Chicago to the confederate dead, he sent a contribution, accompanied by a letter expressing his deep interest in the success of the undertaking.

The year 1887 brought him a great sorrow in the death of his beloved wife, leaving of his family only two children, a daughter who lived with him in his home and a son who resided in Colorado, both of whom survived him.

During the last twenty years of his life he spent his winters largely in Florida, varying them with trips to California and Mexico, while the summers generally found him at his home in Flora. On New Year's day, 1907, at the request of the Grand Army Post in Flora, he met the old soldiers at their rooms and for the last time talked over the days of the past, when they were all in their different ways working together for the same great end. With voice as strong and clear as in his younger days and with his old time vigor, he spoke for two hours, of the part he had taken in the struggle, his hearers listening with the deepest interest and attention and at the close, to his surprise and pleasure he was presented with a chair in memory of the occasion. Though fully retaining his mental vigor, the last few years had brought increasing feebleness of body, most patiently and uncomplainingly borne, and it had seemed at times, as if only his indomitable will enabled him to retain his hold on life. He expressed a wish to live for his 89th birthday on April 5th, but on March 16th, after an illness of only a few days, the brave, tireless soul answered the roll call and freed from the increasing limitations of the body, passed into the fuller, richer life, which he felt assured was awaiting him.

On one of the last days, his mind wandered back to the past and he was again giving directions for the transportation of armies and ordering that the trains should not be moved so rapidly, lest the lives of the soldiers might be endangered. So it was fitting that in the final simple services rendered in his honor, in the town with which he had been so long identified, he should rest for a few hours in the church he had so faithfully served, watched by representatives of the men who had fought with him and covered by the flag he had loved.

CHICAGO'S NORTH SHORE.

By J. Seymour Currey.

I. Pioneer Period.

It is well known that the southern portion of the State of Illinois was settled long before the northern portion was. The accessibility of the territory lying contiguous to, or within easy reach of, the river systems of the Ohio and Mississippi, rendered it easy of access for settlers from the east, who arrived mostly by way of routes on those rivers. When Illinois was admitted as a State in 1818, the population was 50,000, largely distributed throughout the southern portion. At this time Fort Dearborn had been but recently rebuilt after the dreadful massacre of 1812, and the country surrounding it was scarcely known to the settler.

At the time of the Black Hawk war in 1832, the entrance to the Chicago river had become a convenient landing place for vessels on the lakes, though it was as yet an open roadstead. It was not until some years later that the government dredged out the channel so as to permit larger vessels to enter the river. Steamers, however, had begun to ply the lakes at this period, and a few years later (1839) a regular line of steamers was established connecting Buffalo and Chicago. The year 1832, in which the Black Hawk war occurred, was an epoch in the history of Chicago and the regions surrounding it, because of the great influx of troops and supplies at this point, under the direction of the government; thus establishing a route from the east which was followed by settlers afterwards when seeking entrance to the fertile prairie lands and woodlands of this portion of the State of Illinois, and the territory of Wisconsin to the north. The war itself was little more than a series of skirmishes with the Indians who were finally driven across the Mississippi, and they troubled the country no more. The accounts of the war caused an immense sensation throughout the country, and after its conclusion very important consequences followed. The attention of the country was called to the advantages in the soil and climate possessed by Illinois. The officers and men of the army, on their return from the campaign throughout the northern portion of Illinois and Wisconsin, brought home with them wonderful accounts of the country. Settlers began to arrive shortly after in a constantly increasing stream which soon became a tide.

The history of Chicago has been told so many times that it is unnecessary for me to give more than an outline sufficient for a general understanding of the beginnings of pioneer life in the regions surrounding it. After the abandonment of Fort Dearborn on August 15, 1812, by order of General Hull then in command of the American forces at Detroit—an order given with the intention of concentrating all available forces at Detroit to resist a British attack—the small company of troops with their families and a few friendly Indians began their fatal retreat. They were pursued by hostile Indians, and at a point about two miles south of the fort they were completely overwhelmed, after a brave defense; and the greater part, including most of the women and children, were killed. Those who survived were tortured and some put to death, a few eventually escaping. The fort was burned by the Indians and thereafter no white man lived on or near the spot for a space of four years.

John Kinzie, an Indian trader, came in 1804, but escaped the massacre of 1812 by embarking with his family in a small boat on the lake. He returned in 1816 after a variety of adventures and soon afterwards the government, having meantime made new treaties with the Indians, began the erection of the new fort. Few but military people lived here during the next ten years; and it was not until 1832 that a few scattering houses had been built on the surrounding spaces within cannon shot of the stockaded walls of the fort; and a population, outside of the garrison, of some 130 persons dwelt and pursued their various occupations.

The importance of this point as a trading center was as yet dimly perceived by the residents, and other places seemed preferable to many. There were places north and south of this point which were thought to have advantages superior to the wretched little settlement on the low flat lands at the mouth of the Chicago river. However, the Black Hawk war, showing as it did the great value of Fort Dearborn as a base of supplies, clearly indicated that here was the most convenient place from which military operations could be carried on. Here was landed the force of U. S. regulars, to the number of 1,000 men under General Winfield Scott, to take part in the campaign. After the hostile Indians had been driven out of the State the few frightened settlers who had taken refuge at the fort returned to their holdings. Chicago then began to increase in population, and in 1835 there were some 1,500 inhabitants, though the importance of the place was much greater than might be inferred from its small population. Arriving settlers in most cases did not care to stay in the place; it was "too uninviting" one relates, and they moved on to more attractive scenes. Thus the prairie lands to the west were rapidly taken up, and in the later "thirties" settlers began to turn their attention to the wooded regions lying to the north. It was about 1835 that the first pioneers penetrated the wilderness in that direction.

The term "North Shore" is descriptive of the region bordering the shore of Lake Michigan to the north of Chicago. How far the region thus described might extend it is difficult to state. In this address I will consider that the term applies to the region along the shore of the lake as far north as Waukegan which is near the State line. People in Boston use the term "North Shore" to describe the coast as far north as Gloucester at least. The expression was not used, so far as I can find, by the residents of this region previous to about 1890; but starting as a colloquial expression it has become a most useful addition to our local vocabulary and has been utilized in the names of transportation and other companies.

In the "thirties" and "forties" the name of Gross Point served to indicate the locality situated along the shore generally within the space later known as "Ridgeville township." Up to 1850 the locality was known as "Gross Point voting district," having no definite boundaries; but in that year the township of Ridgeville was organized and the voting district passed out of existence. Gross Point is a name that has come down to us from the French *voyageurs,* who passed and repassed this shore for a hundred and fifty years in their batteaux, engaged in the fur trade long before the pioneers came. The correct spelling in French would be Grosse Pointe, but current usage has settled the spelling as indicated above. A point of land forming an obtuse angle projects into the lake about thirteen miles north of the mouth of the Chicago river, and here the land rises into bluffs of a moderate height. This was called Gross Point by the early *voyageurs,* and in common with many other names up and down the lakes also of French origin, the name has remained as a picturesque remnant of the period when all this extensive lake region was a part of the dominions of the French kings. The wooded shores of the lake wore a lovely aspect to the passing *voyageur* or sailor; and Gross Point especially loomed up as a most attractive spot and became known by the romantic name of "Beauty's Eyebrow." The point, however, was a place to be dreaded in storm and darkness, and there is a long list of wrecks and loss of life associated with its history. Since 1874 a tall lighthouse with a revolving light serves as a landmark and guide to the mariner.

In 1836 a small schooner called the "Dolphin" dropped anchor in the Chicago river after a stormy voyage from Lake Erie. On board was Arunah Hill, his wife and eight children, who with their household goods, were landed and soon after placed on a wagon and driven by ox-team to their new home, which was a small cabin located on what we now call Ridge avenue, directly west of Calvary station within the present city limits of Evanston. A small clearing in the woods surrounded the cabin, which was built of boards, but without windows or a chimney. The cabin had been built the previous year by Major Edward H. Mulford, who had taken up land from the government and had made some slight improvements. Major Mulford, who had become a resident of Chicago (where he engaged in the jewelry business), had doubtless begun this improvement with the idea of living upon the place. After occupying this place one year, Hill removed some three miles to the north, west of the present village of Wilmette, where he located permanently; and Mulford began living in his cabin and resided on his place the remainder of his life.

Hill and his family were among the earliest arrivals in this region, and one of his sons, Benjamin F. Hill, who was six years old when the family came upon the scene, resided here up to the time of his death in 1905.

B. F. Hill has left on record a very intelligent account of life and experiences in the pioneer times of this section. He relates that on arriving in Chicago he saw groups of Indians, who were a great curiosity to the newly arrived settlers; and after reaching their cabin on the Mulford place they found it in the midst of the forest which after nightfall resounded with the cries of wolves and owls. Other settlers soon joined them, among whom were Abraham Hathaway, John Carney, George and Paul Pratt, Henry Clarke, George W. Huntoon, William Foster, Benjamin Emerson—names familiar in the early annals of Evanston, and who arrived previous to 1840. During the next decade came John O'Leary, Samuel Reed, David Burroughs, Ozro and Charles Crain, Edward Murphy, Alexander McDaniel, Eli Gaffield, Philo Colvin, Sylvester Beckwith, Oliver Jellison, James Hartray, Otis Munn and many others. The township of Ridgeway was organized in 1850 with a population of 443.

Previous to 1846 the residents of the Gross Point district were obliged to get their letters at Chicago, or at Dutchman's Point, now Niles. December 28, 1846, the post office was kept at the houses of the postmasters, and changed its location at each change of the incumbent. Most of the homes of the settlers were strung along the Green Bay road, now Ridge avenue, extending some three miles. The forest was gradually cut away by the settlers, who found a ready market for wood at Chicago, then growing by leaps and bounds, and by 1850 the country was covered by well tilled farms.

The road north from Chicago, instead of being lined by villages and towns, as at present, was marked by taverns, or "hotels," as they were often rather grandiloquently called in those days, at intervals of a few miles. The first of these, after leaving Chicago, was Britton's, which was situated about where the old Lake View town hall now stands. The next was Baer's tavern at Rosehill; the next, Trader's at Calvary. Others along the Green Bay road (which was the general name for the road north) were Tillman's tavern, Buckeye hotel, Stebbins' tavern, etc. These taverns were later known after the stage coaches began to run, as "Seven-mile house," "Ten-mile house," etc., according to their location. The roads followed the low ridges which begin to rise gradually towards the north, and were generally sandy; which is the usual characteristic of the surface on the higher undulations of the land, though in the low portions between the ridges the soil is dark and fertile.

In quite recent geologic times the waters of Lake Michigan stood some twenty feet higher than at present and poured a flood over the divide into the Desplaines river valley, taking the same course through which the great drainage canal was cut some years since at immense labor and cost. The present site of Chicago was then the bottom of a shallow bay extending westward to the higher lands some twelve or fifteen miles from the present margin of the lake; and northward in long tongues of shallow water between the ridges which formed low promontories. At that time the first land appearing above the surface of the waters was in the neighborhood of Rosehill, and from this point northward the land rose gradually, until at Waukegan, the bluffs attained a height of fifty or sixty feet above the surface of the lake. These facts account for the sandy ridges, gravelly sub-soil and old beach marks which are characteristic of the region. The glacial action of a more remote period is evident in the occurrence of boulders, some of great size. One may be seen near the railway station at Waukegan, and one on the campus of the Northwestern University at Evanston.

The settlers arriving previous to 1850 came by boat and by overland routes from the east; many of them were former residents of eastern states, but German immigants formed a large element. The descendants of these German settlers remain today as prosperous market gardeners and flower growers occupying the lands on the beautiful rolling country a few miles back from the lake shore. Chicago was incorporated as a city in 1837, at which time it had attained a population of more than 4,000, and was a ready and convenient market for everything the settlers had to sell—wood for fuel and cooperage, farm produce, etc. Thus there was a larger measure of prosperity among these settlers than was usually found in pioneer communities. They began to surround themselves with a better class of improvements, built frame houses to replace the log cabins of the earlier period, and provided better school facilities for the young. April 26, 1850, the name of the post office was changed from Gross Point to Ridgeville. At this time the places towards the north were as follows, and in the adjoining columns is given the names they are at present known by:

Original Name.	Present name.	Distance from Chicago.
Seven-mile House	Rosehill	7.8 miles
Ten-mile House	Calvary	10.4 miles
Gross Point Ridgeville.	Evanston	12.0 miles
Ouilmette Reservation	Wilmette	14.3 miles
Wynetka	Winnetka	16.8 miles
	Glencoe	19.2 miles
Port Clinton	Highland P'k.	23.2 miles
St. John	Highwood	24.5 miles
	Ft. Sheridan	25.7 miles
Little Fort	Waukegan	36.0 miles

The northern limits of Cook county are some twenty-one miles north of Chicago, the remainder of the distance along the north shore to the State line lying in Lake county.

The life of the people living along the north shore, as may well be imagined, was in an early day closely interwoven with that of Lake Michigan, with its vicissitudes of storm and calm, its busy commerce and attendant disasters, its navigation and its life afloat. From the shores an illimitable horizon stretched away to the eastward, and fleets of sailing craft flecked the broad bosom of its waters. Many families had one or more members engaged in the occupation of sailing the lakes, and among the older inhabitants are captains and sailors, now retired, who spent years of their lives in lake navigation. The last twenty years has witnessed a great diminution in the numbers of sailing vessels, their places being supplied by the great steamers which carry, in one cargo, as much as ten or dozen schooners formerly did. Tales of maritime adventures could be gathered in volumes from the older inhabitants and their descendants today; and many of the early settlers on this shore were attracted thither by the bosky woodlands and pleasant uplands seen from passing vessels.

Captain Sylvester Beckwith, in command of the schooner "Winslow," which he had sailed fourteen years, was wrecked off the shore where Winnetka is now located in 1841; and with his crew found shelter at Patterson's tavern, then the principal stopping place at that point for stages and road travel on the Green Bay road. He abandoned life afloat and took up land near old Gross Point and remained there the rest of his life, becoming one of our prominent and substantial citizens. Captain Fred Canfield and Captain Robert Kyle likewise settled here after many years of sea-faring life. Every mile of the shore has its record of wreck and loss of life, and since the life saving station was established at Evanston, in 1877, the saving of some four hundred lives during the thirty years of its existence gives some idea of the disasters and loss of life which must have occurred in previous years, when no record was kept. For while the shores are not rock-bound as on many dangerous coasts, the peril to navigators when forced on a sandy beach, especially when skirted by bluffs approaching close to the margin of the lake, has proved to be a very serious one. It was for this reason that the government has established at short intervals along this shore light houses, fog horns and life-saving stations.

In 1850, the population of Chicago was upwards of 28,000; and, as by that time telegraphic lines had been established between important points, the residents of the north shore were well served by the enterprising press of the city. The news of the world was at their command, and among the leading events of that time the accounts of gold discoveries in California attracted wide-spread attention and profoundly affected the farmers and woodsmen of the neighborhood. Already Ozro Crain, a man of an adventurous disposition, in the spring of the previous year (1849) had made his way across the plains and returned in the fall with glowing accounts from the land of gold. During the following winter a party was organized ready for a start westward in the spring, the men who composed it planning to be absent a few years, to try their fortunes in the gold mines of the new El Dorado. There were about thirty men in the party whose names, as far as ascertained, were as follows:

Ozro Crain, leader; Charles Crain, Erwin Crain, Leander Crain, brothers of Ozro; Orson Crain, a cousin; Alonzo Burroughs, William Foster and his son, John; Oliver Jellison, Alexander McDaniel, Eli Gaffield, Sylvester Beckwith, Andrew Robinson, Benjamin Emerson, James Hartray, Azel Patterson, Joel Stebbins, James Dennis, George Reed, Henry Pratt, Smith Hill, James Bowman and others whose last names only can be given—Hazzard, Fox, Webley, Fluent, Miller, Rice and Ackley. There were others who also went across the plains to the same destination, but not with the party above mentioned. Some of these were B. F. Hill, Samuel Reed, Abraham Hathaway and John O'Leary.

On the 8th of April, 1850, the party started from the Buckeye hotel, a small frame house still standing on Ridge avenue in Evanston. There were seven or eight wagons for the party, and a horse for each man. The scene at the departure was an animated one, and after the farewells had been spoken and the keepsakes exchanged, the party began their long journey to California. The "California widows," as the wives of the adventurers were called, went on with the work of the farms and shops, and in most cases managed their affairs well during the absence of their husbands. Their conduct affords as fine an example of constancy and devotion as can be found in the annals of romance. Just as the crusaders of old, rallying from every country in Europe and following the banner of the cross to the far distant land of Palestine, found on their return from an absence of years their faithful wives true in their affections and to the trusts confided to them, so our California Argonauts found on their return the warmth of heartfelt affection and welcome to their homes after their long absence in the land of gold. And when we consider what those homes were, far on the frontier of civilization, devoid of many of the comforts and conveniences which we deem so necessary in the homes of this day, we can form some idea of the true hearted faithfulness of the women of pioneer times. It is to these women who, in the pioneer life we have attempted to depict, have maintained the honor and purity of these homes of the early times, and to whom are due the best elements in the institutions and life we now enjoy.

We have some interesting records of the long journey of the party across the plains. Alexander McDaniel methodically kept a diary during the two years of his absence, and when possible wrote long letters to his young wife at home. Letters from Ft. Leavenworth, Ft. Laramie and Salt Lake City were received, and finally, after a journey of some two and one-half months, the party, at least most of them, reached their destination on the western slopes of the Sierras.

Some members of the party did not remain with their associates to the end of the journey, preferring to return from various points on the way. Those who at last reached the gold diggings took up claims and began work in earnest. McDaniel records in his diary the amount of "dust" taken out each day, and the amounts varied from three or four dollars to over thirty dollars as the result of the day's work, and some exceptional days much larger sums. As fast as he accumulated the precious metal in sufficient quantities to make shipments, it was sent by Wells, Fargo & Company's Express (the same company and name we are familiar with today) to his faithful wife at home, who cared for it safely until his return some twenty-one months later, having gained some three thousand dollars as the result of his trip. The Crains also did well, generally speaking, and also many of the other members of the party. They mostly all returned within a couple of years, either across the plains, the way they had gone, or by the Panama route. Benjamin Emerson was robbed of four thousand dollars of his gains while on his way home. Oliver Jellison disappeared and was never more heard off; Joel Stebbins, Mr. Webley and Azel Patterson never returned.

A party of California adventurers also started from Waukegan. Among those who were members of the party were Isaiah Marsh, George Ferguson, George Allen Hibbard, D. H. Sherman, William and James Steele, and Jacob Miller with his two sons. Hibbard was frozen to death while crossing the mountains, and Jacob Miller died from the exposures and privations suffered on the journey.

During the fifteen years from 1835, when the first settlers came in any appreciable numbers, to 1850, the land had been cleared of the greater part of its forest growth, and farming had become the principal occupation of the people. From Chicago north to the State line, a distance of some forty-five miles, there had grown up a succession of small communities, the most important of which was Waukegan, which previous to 1849 had been known as Little Fort. This town, in 1850, had a population of over 3,000, possessed a thriving trade in lumber and grain, and had become a port of call for a line of steamers. During the year just mentioned there had been over a thousand arrivals of lake vessels and steamers at the port of Waukegan and the government had begun work to improve the harbor. At one time the people of the place regarded it as a rival of Chicago, but after the completion of the railroad between Chicago and Milwaukee a few years later its commercial importance declined, though as the county seat of Lake county it has become an attractive and well built city and the center of trade for a prosperous country population.

Among the early residents of Waukegan, were Henry W. Blodgett, in later years well known as a federal judge; and Elijah M. Haines, who came to Little Fort as early as 1843. Haines published a history of Lake county in 1852, the county being then but thirteen years old. Haines was an industrious and careful historian of the events in which he himself had a large share, and his writings, now scarce and difficult to procure, are among the most valuable of our pioneer sketches.

II. Modern Period.

On the 31st day of May, 1850, a meeting of a few gentlemen was held in the office of Grant Goodrich in Chicago, the object of which was to take steps towards founding a university, "to be under the control and patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Among those present were Grant Goodrich, Rev. Zadoc Hall, Rev. Richard Haney, Rev. R. H. Blanchard, Orrington Lunt, Dr. John Evans, J. K. Botsford, Henry W. Clarke and Andrew J. Brown. The result of this meeting was an application to the State Legislature for a charter, which was granted in an Act passed January 28, 1851. Pursuant to this act the Northwestern University was organized June 14, 1851. The president of the first Board of Trustees was John Evans, who soon after arranged, on behalf of the board, for the purchase of the block of ground in Chicago on which now stands the Grand Pacific hotel and the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank. The purchase price was eight thousand dollars. The purpose in view was the establishment of a preparatory school, though this purpose was afterwards abandoned. The land, however, was retained and is now a valuable asset of the university. "This was the smartest thing we ever did," said Mr. Lunt many years later. "There was nothing particularly smart in the purchasing, but the smart thing was in the keeping of it, for it is now (1888) worth a million dollars." June 22, 1853, Clark T. Hinman was elected the first president of the faculty of the university, though no buildings had been erected as yet and no site even selected. Several locations were considered and finally a party visited the lake shore in the township of Ridgeville and decided on the site now occupied by the university. A tract of 380 acres was purchased from Dr. John H. Foster in August, 1853, and a part of the land was laid out for a campus, a building erected, and the university was opened to students November 5, 1855. A year or more before this time (October, 1854) Dr. Hinman died and no successor was elected until the following year.

During the winter of 1853-4 a plat of a village was made under the superintendence of Rev. Philo Judson, who had been appointed by the board of trustees as the business agent of the university, and the village thus platted was named Evanston, in honor of Dr. John Evans, the president of the board of trustees. This was on February 3, 1854. The plat of the village was recorded July 27, 1854. The name of the post office, however, was not changed until August 27, 1855, when it ceased to be called Ridgeville, and was thereafter officially named by the post office department, Evanston. James B. Colvin was appointed the first postmaster under the new name. The name of the township of Ridgeville was changed to Evanston, February 17, 1857, accompanied by a change of boundaries. Lakeview township, formerly a part of Ridgeville township, was at the same time created, and has since been included within the city limits of Chicago.

When the Northwestern University decided on locating its campus and buildings where they are now situated, the community, thereafter known as Evanston, entered upon a new era in its history. It became a seat of learning and a center of interest to the large body of Methodists throughout the west, and attracted a class of residents who were connected with the work of the university. The friends and sympathizers with the new institution also came in constantly increasing numbers, so that a tone and atmosphere was created that vitally influenced the later development of the place. The prohibition against the sale of liquors within a limit of four miles from the principal buildings of the university, such a provision having been included in the charter of the institution, guaranteed to the community absolute immunity from the evil influences of the liquor traffic. Previous to this time, in the older pioneer period, liquor selling had been carried on at all the taverns, "groceries," and road houses scattered along the highways; and these places had become a resort for thieves and fugitives from justice, and especially counterfeiters, who flourished greatly in those days—to the great scandal of the quiet and law abiding settlers of the vicinity. This was now done away with completely; and, since the establishment of the university, the prohibition against liquor selling has lent character and distinction to the place, and continues to be one of the most carefully guarded and cherished institutions of the people.

The Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston, founded for the purpose of preparing young men for the ministry, began its work in 1856. It is interesting to note that a part of the endowment of this institution consisted of property in Chicago on which was built the "Wigwam" in 1860. In this building Abraham Lincoln was nominated for the presidency.

In 1860 occurred a most appalling steamer disaster off the shore opposite Highland park, resulting in the loss of some 300 lives. The steamer "Lady Elgin," a large side wheel steamer, and the finest one on the lakes, left Chicago late on the evening of September 7 with some 400 passengers, most of whom were bound for Milwaukee. While proceeding on her course some three hours later, that is, about two o'clock in the morning of September 8, the steamer came into collision with the schooner "Augusta" bound for Chicago. Immediately after the collision the captain of the schooner shouted to the people on the steamer inquiring if they had suffered any damage or whether help was needed, but receiving an answer that no assistance was needed, the schooner proceeded on her course. On its arrival in Chicago harbor next morning the captain learned from the papers that the steamer had gone down in half an hour after the collision, and a large number of lives were lost.

When the ill fated steamer sank she was three miles from the shore and a gale was blowing from the northeast. Three boats had been lowered immediately after the collision, manned by sailors provided with mattresses and sail-cloth for the purpose of stopping the hole in her side; but the oars were broken in the attempt and the boats drifted away, eventually arriving on the neighboring shore with their occupants in safety.

Large quantities of wreckage were loosened as the steamer went down, and the passengers seized upon any object that would keep them afloat. In the cargo was a drove of cattle and the struggling animals were precipitated into the water among the passengers. Many found a precarious hold on their backs. A large piece of the hurricane deck became detached at the moment when the steamer went down, and on this the heroic Captain Wilson (who himself lost his life) gathered more than fifty people and navigated the improvised raft towards the shore at Winnetka. The raft ran on a sandbar at some distance from the shore and went to pieces, and most of those who had so nearly reached a place of safety were lost in the boiling waves.

The wreckage from the scene of the disaster drifted ashore in great quantities at a point near where the Winnetka water tower now stands and was scattered along the beach for miles to the south. The bluffs at Winnetka are some twenty or thirty feet in height and below them is a narrow beach, in some places completely submerged by the surf. When, in the gray of the morning, the survivors neared the shore the residents of the neighborhood came to the edge of the bluffs in great numbers ready to assist in the work of rescue. "The unfortunate passengers seemed to come safely to the point where the waves broke on the shore," relates an eye witness of the scene, "but unless assistance was then at hand they were carried back by the undertow. The only persons I saw rescued were saved by some one from the shore running out into the surf with long branches hastily cut from trees near at hand. These branches would be grasped by the ones in distress, and, once over the critical spot, they were safe."

All that day portions of the wreck, with the unfortunate survivors clinging to them, continued to come within view of the hundreds of spectators who lined the bluffs. Often a survivor was seen holding to some support which was torn from his grasp in the surf, and he would be immediately swept back and drowned. At some places the waves beat directly against the face of the bluffs, and the survivors could be seen helplessly drifting to almost certain death. It was at such points that some of the brave rescuers would let themselves down by ropes held by those above, and when possible seize a person as he came within reach, too often in vain. Many of the students from the Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston joined in the work of rescue. One of them, Edward W. Spencer, was successful in saving the lives of seventeen men and women. Others among the students and townspeople performed heroic deeds in this rescue work.

For days floating debris and bodies from the wreck continued to be washed up on the beach, and such of the latter as were not claimed by friends were given a decent burial. Out of 400 passengers who left Chicago the night before only about one-fourth of the whole number were saved. Mr. Spencer, whose daring deeds of rescue attracted the attention of the whole country at the time, is still living in California in broken health, never having recovered from the terrible strain of that day's work. That was before the days when medals for life saving were given by the government, and Mr. Spencer received no other recognition than the applause of his friends and neighbors. But lately a movement has been started by Evanston people having for its object the passage of an Act of Congress to bestow a medal, even at this late day, on Mr. Spencer for his heroic work.

In the early "fifties" the people everywhere were immensely interested in railroad building. Their imaginations were all on fire when considering the future development of the country, and railroads proposed were to be built over the great routes of trade. In the previous decade lines had been opened in various parts of the State, and the pioneer residents of the North Shore were anxiously looking forward to the time when a line would be built from Chicago to the north. Major Mulford used to stand at the door of his house, and, looking towards the flats between his house and the opposite ridge, would say to his neighbors, "Some day, my friends, you will see the iron horse following the path along this valley." In fact the line was built precisely where he had indicated. Men's minds were keyed up expectantly for the advent of the railroad. Few had seen one in operation, but the people longed passionately for its arrival among them. The enthusiasm with which every project for railroad building was received by the people is scarcely conceivable in these days when railroads, their managers and their affairs generally, are the targets for every man's abuse and criticism. Counties all over the State freely issued bonds in aid of new railroad projects, and the National government granted to the Illinois Central Railroad every alternate section of land along its entire line from one end of the State to the other. Late in the fall of 1854 the Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad was completed as far as Waukegan, and in the following year trains were running over the entire distance from Chicago to Milwaukee. This road and others were merged many years later and became a part of the great system of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway.

Lake Forest began its existence in 1856. In the previous year a number of Chicago gentlemen, among whom were H. M. Thompson, Dr. C. H. Quinlan, David J. Lake, Rev. R. W. Patterson, and others, had formed an association to establish at some point in the vicinity of Chicago, a college and other kindred institutions under the auspices of the Presbyterian denomination. A location was decided upon and the Lake Forest Association was organized February 28, 1856. The beautiful situation of Lake Forest attracted a fine class of residents, and in the year 1857 a building was erected for the academy the purpose of which was the preparation of young men for college. "Ferry Hall," for a young ladies' seminary, was completed in 1869, and a building for Lake Forest College was completed in 1876. These three institutions, the Academy, Ferry Hall and Lake Forest College, are affiliated under the name of Lake Forest University.

Lake Forest is laid out on a plan similar to a public park with many winding driveways, and is the place of residence of a large number of Chicago's well-to-do business and professional men. The height of the bluffs there is at some points eighty feet above the lake and are intersected by picturesque ravines. Like Evanston the University is fortunate in being provided with a charter which prohibits the liquor traffic within the limits of the city of Lake Forest.

I have not space within the limits of this address to speak of the glorious record made by the people of the North Shore in that period of their history covered by the four years of the Civil war, when the martial spirit was awakened among them and great numbers of their young men flocked to the standard of their country. It would be interesting to treat of this period and to give some account of the young soldiers who honorably bore their part in many campaigns and on many battle fields.

The life and activities of our people in the succeeding "piping times of peace," the growth of movements, religious and intellectual, that here found a fruitful soil—are worthy of extended historical treatment. The men and women who have been identified with causes of world-wide fame and importance, and who have attained to eminence and renown in scholarship, reform, literature and statesmanship, might well occupy our attention and interest. But we have seen enough in this brief and inadequate sketch to demonstrate that whatever of success we have had, and our measure has been by no means insignificant, is due, not only to the courage and determination of the men of these pioneer times, but far more to the fortitude and constancy of those noble women, who, in the formative period of our community life, distinguished themselves by their unshrinking loyalty and devotion.

"THE PIASA BLUFFS."
(By Frederick Oakes Slyvester.)

A Romantic Spot on the Mississippi.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PIASA.

By Clara Kern Bayliss.

Foreword.

[The writer thinks it entirely possible that Douay may have been right in saying that Marquette's description of the Piasa was exaggerated,—although Douay was bitterly hostile to the Jesuits. She also thinks it highly probable that the modern pictures of this Bird-Serpent are more detailed and perfect than the original etching by the Indians, although Marquette is reported by Hennepin as saying of the original "our best painters could hardly do better." But, making allowance for all embellishments, both ancient and modern writers agree that such an image was depicted on the rocks and that it was an object of awe and of sacrifice among the Indians. This being conceded, and the mythology of the Algonkins taken into the account, it seems impossible to escape the conclusion arrived at in this article, (in which smoothness and literary form have been sacrificed to scientific explicitness).]

On the Mississippi River between Alton and the mouth of the Illinois River a small stream known as the Piasa Creek empties into the Father of Waters. At its mouth, on a lofty sandstone cliff at a height of eighty feet above the river, there were in the latter part of the seventeenth century and until well into the nineteenth century two carved and painted representations of a monster known to the Indians as the Piasa or Piasau, the "man-devouring-bird." It was a combination of bird and serpent.

Father Marquette, the first white man known to descend the Father of Waters to the Missouri, saw these figures in August, 1673, when he made his first trip; and in his "Discoveries of the Mississippi," published in Paris in 1861, he says of them:

> "As we were descending the river we saw high rocks with hideous monsters painted upon them, and upon which the bravest Indian dare not look. They are as large as a calf, with heads and horns like a goat; their eyes are red, beard like a tiger's, and face like a man's. Their tails are so long that they pass over their heads and between their legs under their bodies, ending like a fish's tail. They are painted red, green, and black."

Again he says:

> "Passing the mouth of the Illinois River we soon fell into the shadow of a tall promontory and with great astonishment beheld the representations of two monsters painted on the lofty limestone front. Each of these frightful figures had the face of a man, the horns of a deer, the beard of a tiger, and the tail of a fish, so long that it passed around the body, over the head, and between the legs. It was an object of Indian worship."

Hennepin, in his "New discovery of a vast country in America," published in 1698, mentions "a horse and some other beasts painted in red upon a very steep rock on the river where the Illini said a great number of Miamis had been driven into the river by the Mestchegamis and drowned. And since that time the Savages going by the rock use to smoke and offer tobacco to the beasts to appease the Manitou."

Hennepin says that he asked M. Joliet if he had ever seen these representations and he replied that the Outtaouats had often spoken to him of these monsters but he had never gone so far down the river.

Hennepin also asked Marquette about them and the latter described them in the language already quoted from his book, with this addition: "Their body is covered with scales, their tail is so long that it goes over their heads and then turns between their fore-legs under the belly, ending like a fish-tail. They are well drawn, and the rock is so steep that it is a wonder how it was possible to draw these figures."

St. Cosme, in his "Voyage down the Mississippi," says that he saw them in 1699, but that they were then much effaced. Douay and Joutel saw nothing terrible in them, but say that the Indians made sacrifices to them.

Such is the testimony of the early explorers.*

MIAMI TRADITIONS.

The Miamis claimed that long ago they lived near the present site of Alton, and were one of the tribes composing the great Illini confederacy. About the year 1827, Hon. P. A. Armstrong obtained from them the following legend, published by him in 1887 in his monograph on the Piasa.

> "Many thousand moons before the coming of the white man, in the caves of the Piasa bluffs lived two monsters with wings of an eagle only much larger, and with claws of an alligator. (Otherwise as already described.) They spent the greater part of their time resting and dozing on the rocks or flying over the country. The voice of one was like the roaring of a buffalo bull; of the other like the scream of a panther. They swooped down and carried off young deer and elk, which they bore to their cavern home to devour at their leisure. But they never molested the Indians until one

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* These figures were incised into the rock and painted, thus lessening the wear of the elements. McAdams tells of other petroglyphs farther up the river, similarly treated, which, though dim, showed no deterioration in thirty years.

† Michigamis.

morning when the Miamis and Mestchegamis† met in battle array in the Piasa canyon to do each other to death. In the midst of the carnage, just when the Mestchegamis were wavering and about to fly, these two horrible monsters came flying down the canyon uttering bellowings and shrieks, while the flapping of their wings roared out like so many thunder claps. Passing close over the heads of the combatants, each picked up a Miami chieftain and bore him, struggling, aloft, leaving the tribe terrified and demoralized.

"The Mestchegamis, thinking the Great Spirit had sent the monsters to aid them against their enemies, gave a great war-whoop and renewed the battle, which now became a rout and massacre. The Miamis fled across the country and dared not stop until they had crossed the Wabash river.

"Long after, when they had helped to nearly exterminate the Mestchegamis at Starved Rock, they visited the scene of their ancient defeat, and there on the rocks were the petroglyphs of the monsters."

ILLINI TRADITION.

A. D. Jones, in his "Illinois and the West" published in 1838, gives the Illini tradition, which says that the "Man-destroying-bird" which took up its home in the lofty peaks near Alton, had "wings clothed with thunder, making a most fearful noise in its heavy flight; its talons, four in number, were like the eagle's; its tail was of huge dimensions. It one day descended into their midst and carried off one of their bravest warriors, and thereafter, other braves, squaws, and papooses. They lived in terror, until their chieftain, Waw-to-go, obeying a dream he had had, offered himself as a sacrifice, and stood out in full view of the cliff to tempt the bird. It soon swooped down upon him, but was pierced to the heart by the arrows of twenty concealed warriors. All had expected that Wawtogo as well as the bird would be slain, but he miraculously escaped without a scratch.

Then they cut the image of the bird on the cliffs and painted it; and thereafter no Indian passed the spot without discharging his arrows at it.

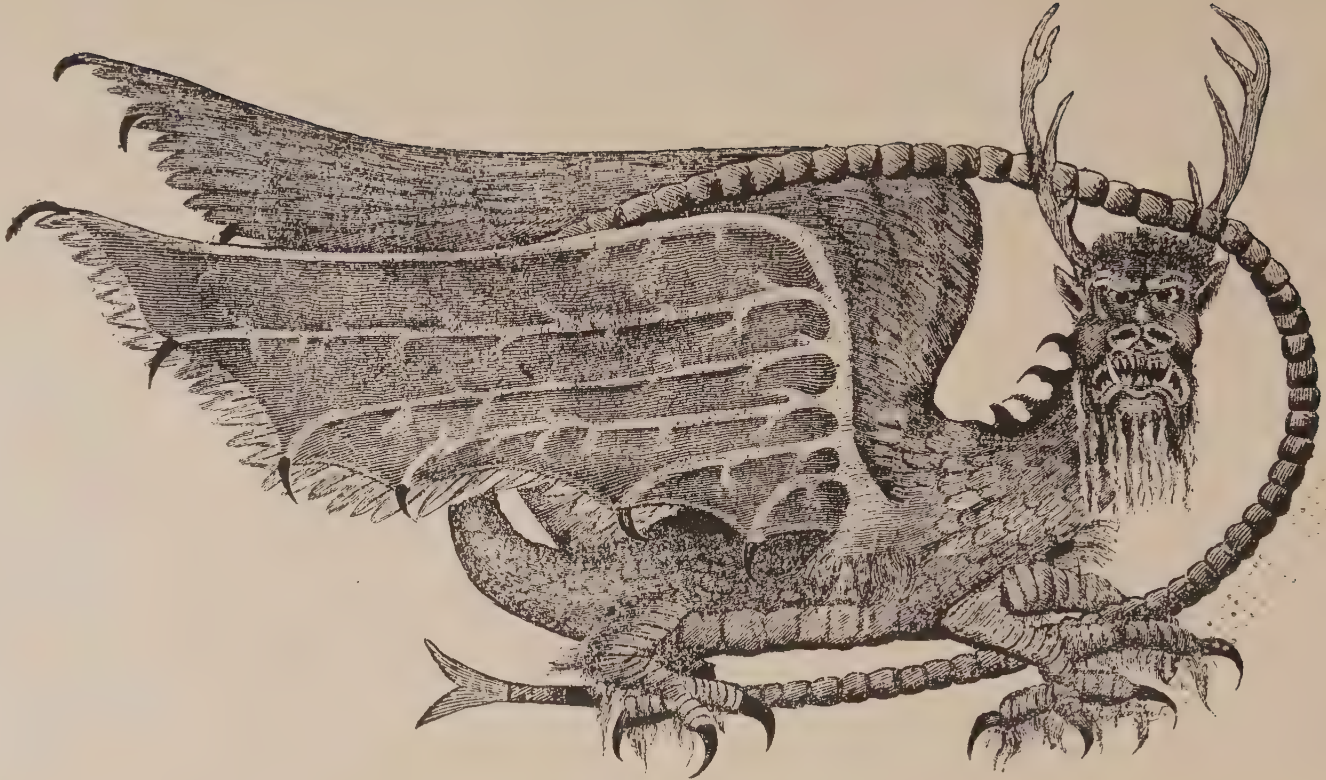
LATER TESTIMONY.

Marquette, Hennepin, St. Cosme, Douay, and Joutel mention two birds and rock pictures. When A. D. Jones visited the spot in 1838 there was but one remaining. By this time the Indians had obtained firearms from the whites, and Jones says:

"I visited the place in June, 1838, and the ten thousand bullet marks on the cliff seemed to corroborate the tradition of the neighborhood. So lately as the passage of the Sac and Fox delegations down the river on their way to Washington, there was a general discharge of rifles at the Piasau Bird. On arriving at Alton they went ashore in a body and proceeded to the bluff where they held a solemn war-council, concluding the whole with a splendid war-dance."

Professor John Russell of Jersey county, Illinois, visited the bluff in March 1848, and in July of that year published in the "Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate" of Utica, N. Y. the description of the image and the Illini tradition as given above. He says:

"No human art could reach the elevation of the figure on the smooth face of the cliff. * * * Even at this day an Indian never passes the spot without firing his gun at the figure of the bird. The marks of the balls are almost innumerable.



THE PIASA BIRD.

"My curiosity was principally directed to the examination of a cave connected with the tradition as one of those to which the bird had carried its victims. * * * After long and perilous clambering, we reached the entrance, about fifty feet above the river. * * * The shape of the cave was irregular, but so far as I could judge, the bottom would average about twenty by thirty feet. The floor of the cave throughout its whole extent was one mass of human bones."*

And he adds this significant remark: "The Mississippi was rolling in silent grandeur beneath us; high over our heads a single cedar hung its branches over the cliff, on the blasted top of which was seated a bald eagle. No other sound or sign of life was near."

Hon. P. A. Armstrong, from whom we already have quoted extensively, says that there were petroglyphs of two monsters, not exactly alike, cut into bluish gray sandstone overlying the limestone which Marquette mentions; that they were in horizontal line, heads east; were thirty feet long and twelve feet high, (Marquette not taking into account the distance of his canoe from them); that they had the wings of a bat but shaped like an eagle's, and elevated, not extended; four legs, each supplied with claws like an eagle's; that the figures were quite distinct when white people first settled in the locality, and that traces of them remained until the rock was quarried away by the convicts of the penitentiary about the year 1856. As to the inaccesible situation of the figures the same gentleman suggests that when they were made there probably was at the base of the cliff a slope of talus which has since been carried away by some of the many changes in the course of the river.

The late Wm. McAdams of Alton, perhaps the greatest archeologist of Illinois during the nineteenth century, furnished to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington the picture of the Piasa used in this article, and made by Wm. Dennis, April 3, 1825; and also another less elaborate one made by H. Lewis, and published in Dusseldorff, Germany, in 1839, which shows a ragged crevice as of a fracture in the bluff, just behind the rather dim head of a second Piasa. He says, "Part of the bluff's face might have fallen, and thus destroyed one of the images, for in later years writers speak of but one figure." (Ethnological Report, X. p. 78.)

Parkman, the historian, says that a drawing of the two beasts made by Marquette has been lost; but that he (Parkman) has a map decorated with a representation of the Piasa which he believes to have been copied from Marquette's drawing.

Thus much to prove the existence of the Piasa petroglyph.

But what of its significance?

Was this bird-serpent with its human face a combination of the thunder-bird and lightning-serpent in which all the Algonkin tribes believed?

In support of this theory we give facts gathered from many different sources, beginning with those from such unquestioned authority as the *Jesuit Relations*, but first stating that the Indians thought the clouds were some kind of huge birds because they soared in the air like birds.

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* Russell may be mistaken in calling them human bones, though it has been suggested that the cave may have been an Indian burial place.

The black storm-clouds of summer were thunder-birds or their shadow, and the zigzag lightning was a serpent darting like a snake from out the thunder-bird.

> "The myth of the Thunderbird was common to all North American tribes from Mexico to Hudson's Bay, and from the St. Lawrence to Behring's Straits; and it is still current among most of the northern and western tribes. They explain the thunderstorm as proceeding from an immense bird, so large that its shadow darkens the heavens. The thunder is the sound made by the flapping of its wings; the lightning is the winking of its eyes; and the deadly thunderbolts are arrows sent forth by the bird against its enemies. The Indians dread this bird, often addressing prayers to it during a thunderstorm. The tribes around Puget Sound and in Alaska perform a thunderbird ceremony." (Reuben Gold Thwaites in Jesuit Relations, X. 319.)

The Montagnais say the thunder is a bird; and when a Frenchman answered "Yes" to their question whether thunderbirds were captured in France, they begged him to bring them a French one—but a *very little one because a large one would frighten them.* (J. R., V. 57.)

The Hurons believe the thunder to be a very large bird; but the Montagnais do not know what kind of an animal it is only it eats snakes and sometimes trees. (VI, 225.)

Another Huron said the thunder was a man like a turkey-cock. The sky is his palace, but when the clouds are rumbling he comes down to earth to get his supply of reptiles. (X. 195.)

The Hurons east of Lake Huron say there is a serpent like an armored fish which pierces everything that it meets on the way, trees, bears, and even rocks, without ever deviating from its course or being stopped by anything. (XXXIII, 213, note 68.)

A savage told Father Buteau that the thunder was caused by the (storm) Manitou trying to vomit up a serpent he had swallowed. One could know that by the sinuous lines stamped on the trees when one of these spewed-up serpents struck a tree in its fall to earth. (XII, 27.)

The Ojibwas, Illinois, and many other northern tribes relate legends of lightning serpents that are food for the thunderbirds—the thunderbird being perhaps the most general of any of our aboriginal myths regarding the thunderstorms. (XII, 270. Thwaites.)

The Objibwas of LaPointe worship the sun and the thunder. They say the sun or the thunder has said this or that to them. (LIV, 187.)

During a storm on Menominee River the chief medicine man (priest), ran about in the woods naked, crying aloud and invoking the thunder, who, he said, was a powerful divinity. (LVIII, 279.)

The Indians of Bay de Puants offer sacrifices to the sun, the thunder, and various animals. (LXI, 149.)

Father Jacques Gravier of the Illinois mission saw three or four snakeskins and several birdskins hung up in the cabin of a medicine man, and at another time a little dog suspended from the top of a pole, the latter to appease the lightning. (LXIV, 187.)

In the myths of many people a great bird is the agent of the chief deity if not the deity himself. The sweep of his wings is the thunder; the glance of his eye is the lightning. (Bancroft. *Native Races,* III, 132.)

The Ahts of Vancouver's Island call their thunderbird, Tootooch. The flapping of her wings shakes the hills with thunder and when she puts out her forked tongue lightning quivers across the sky. (Ibid, 96.)

The Tlinkits say that once during a flood the thunder-and-lightning-man parted from his sister telling her she never would see him more, but would hear his voice. He clothed himself in the skin of a great bird and flew toward the southwest. She never has seen him since; but whenever a tempest sweeps over the land the lightning of his eyes gleams down on her, and the thunder of his wings re-echoes through the subterranean caves.

The Tinneh say that before man existed the world was a great ocean frequented by an immense bird, the beating of whose wings was thunder, the glance of whose eye was lightning. (Ibid, 104-5.)

The flash of thunderbird's eye breaks sticks. (Algic Researches, 114.)

The Passamaquoddy of Maine think the thunderbirds are very like to human beings only they have wings. They say that the thunder and lightning are two spirits, young men of great beauty but of awful mien, who dwell in Mt. Kataehdin, whence they fly out among the clouds every few days, shooting arrows at their enemies. (Algonkin Legends, 261.)

They relate that once an Indian was whirled up in a roaring wind, taken up in a thunderstorm and set down in the village of the thunderers, whom he found very like human beings only they had wings which could be taken off and laid aside. They carry bows and arrows. The crash of thunder is the sound made by their wings. The low rolling of the thunder is the sound made by their ball-playing. And sometimes when the thunder-boys are playing, they drop the stone. The Indians have picked up these fallen "thunder-bullets."

Some years after the wind carried the Indian up to dwell with the thunder-boys he came down again on a streak of lightning.

The giant bird, Kaloo, of the Micmacs of Nova Scotia could catch a man in his talons and soar to the stars with him. (Ibid.)

Badawk, the thunderer who makes the loud crash, and his sister who makes the lightning, live in a high mountain with their father. Badawk married a woman who had given birth to twelve serpents. She bore him a son to whom the grandfather fastened wings; and with these wings the little lad makes the distant, rolling thunder which greatly pleases the old man.

The Algonkins on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River believed in the thunderbird.

At Scugog, Ontario, an old Mississanga woman said the thunderbird lived and hatched in the sky. The young birds flew all about, restless and squawking, causing great thunder and lightning storms.

The Ottawas east of Lake Huron believed the thunder was caused by a great bird.

The Ojibwas (Chippewas) of Wisconsin say the thunderbird is a god in the form of an eagle, which feeds on serpents, and lives in a high mountain where it lays its eggs and hatches its young. It sallies forth, shooting its arrows and snatching up reptiles in a flash of lightning. An Indian once climbed to its nest and found bones of serpents scattered about. They say that a party of Indians once found a thunderbird's nest on the plain and destroyed the young birds. The old birds returned and killed all but one Indian.

The Tetons of Dakota say the thunderbirds live in the sky; have curved beaks like buffalo humps; loud voices, and wings. They make lightning by opening their eyes wide. They can kill human beings. The rattlesnakes were their ancient foes, and the bones of the latter are now found on the bluffs in Nebraska and Dakota, whither the birds carried the reptiles to devour them.

The Omahas, Poncas, and Sioux of Dakota and Minnesota have thunderbirds and thundermen, and tell of a visit to the thunderbird's nest. (Chamberlain in *Am. Anthropologist,* II, 329.)

The Five Thunders (that is, the thunder that rolls and reverberates from the hills, now almost dying out, not renewing its volume) are brothers living in an earth lodge. They bring home as food, human beings struck by the lightning. The Dakota picture the Five Thunders as five streaks of lightning issuing from the mouth of the thunderbird.

The Modocs of southwestern Oregon in their Marten myth, say that Skélamatch exterminated the wind and hid a woman from the Five Thunders. He entered their hut and found them and the two old thunders feasting on human flesh. He killed them all and destroyed their hut. (Gatschett, Contrib. Am. Eth. II, Pt. 1, 114.)

The Arapaho say that the summer storms are made by the thunderbird, the winter ones by the White Owl. (Traditions of the Arapaho, 231.)

The Wichita say that the thunderbird always carries two black and two red arrows. They tell of a thunderbird-woman who went to the south and called herself the rain woman. (Mythology of the Witchita, 103, 123.)

The Tupis, Iroquois, Athapascas, and perhaps all the families of the red race believe in a bird that causes the thunder and lightning; and with most of the Indians the eagle is the emblem of that mystic bird. (Brinton, 104.)

The Acachemen worshiped a species of vulture and sacrificed one annually in the sweathouse (sacred chamber) of each village, "yet believed it was the same bird sacrificed each year in each of the villages," says Father Boscana, (not perceiving that the natives were as metaphysical as he.) (Brinton, 105.)

In Mexico, the god Quetzalcoatl was called the bird-serpent.

At Palenque is a cross (indicating the four winds and four points of the compass) surmounted by a bird and supported by the head of a serpent. (Ibid, 118.)

Among the Algonkin tribes of the east, the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche, and prairie tribes generally, as well as among those of the northwest coast and some parts of Mexico, thunder and lightning are supposed to be produced by a huge bird whose shadow is the thunder-cloud, the flapping of whose wings makes the thunder, and the flashing of whose eyes repeatedly opening and closing, sends forth the lightning.

Within the territory of the myth there are several places designated as the thunder's nest. Thunder Bay in lower Michigan derives its name in this way. The Pottawottomies say that when they lived there they found a nest of young thunderbirds on a high peak on the shore of the bay. Such a place within the old territory of the Sisseton Sioux is in the neighborhood of Big Stone Lake in southeastern Dakota. Near there, a number of large round bowlders are pointed out as the eggs of the thunderbird. The Comanche know a place on the upper Red River where a thunderbird once alighted on the ground, the spot being still identified by the grass being burned off over a space having the outline of a bird with outstretched wings.

The same tell of a hunter wounding a bird and, being afraid to attack it alone, he went for help; but when the party approached the spot they heard thunder rolling and saw flashes of lightning shooting out of the ravine where the wounded bird lay. On coming nearer, the lightning blinded them so that they could not see the bird, and a flash killed a hunter. The frightened Indians fled back to camp, for they knew then that it was the thunderbird. (Ethnological Rep't. XIV, 968.)

The Tlinkets have a thunderbird. (Eth. XVII, 459.)

The Indians of the lower Yukon say that long ago there were many giant eagles and thunderbirds in the mountains, but they all disappeared except a single pair which made their home in the mountaintop overlooking the Yukon near Sabotnisky, whence they soared like clouds in the sky, or swooped down carrying off reindeer and even fishermen and their boats, to the nests of their young. (Eth. Rep't. XVIII, 486.)

The Haida of Alaska and Queen Charlotte's Isle have thunderbirds tattooed on each hand. The two are not exactly alike, one having a cap or crest probably denoting the male. The colors of the tattoo are red, blue and black. The name of their thunderbird is Skamson, and they have a carving of it grasping a whale. (Eth. X., 479.)

The Navahoes of Arizona in their wonderful *Mountain Chant,* have a song to the thunderbird.

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Some tribes have separate images and carvings to represent the lightning serpent. On the walls of the sacred chambers of the ancient cliff-dwellers in New Mexico and Arizona are found etchings of the lightning serpent; and their descendents, the Moki and Zuni, still have rain ceremonies in which wooden effigies of this serpent are used.

In Zuni, a large effigy of Koloowisi, the plumed serpent, with its head thrust through a tablet ornamented with cloud symbols, is borne through the village and thrust in at the opening of the ceremonial chamber. Behind it comes a bird effigy; and a conch shell is constantly blown to make it appear that the serpent is keeping up a continual roaring. Live reptiles used to figure in this ceremony.

The Moki of Arizona, in their rain ceremony, still carry live, venomous serpents dangling from their mouths, grasping the animal just behind its head so that it cannot strike. They, too, have a large effigy of the lightning serpent, which they call Baho-li-kong-ya.

The Moki have also a Kwataka or Man-Eagle which closely resembles our Piasa. (See Eth. XVII, Part II, 692.) A representation of it, carved on the rocks near Walpi has the same position as the Piasa, wings elevated, body covered with scales or arrow markings, head round with feathers or horns on top, legs with three talons; and in one claw it is grasping a serpent-like animal which it seems about to devour. It is said to live in the sky and to sorely trouble people.

There is a great serpent mound in Adams county, Ohio; others have been reported in Warren county, Ohio, and in British America. (*Records of the Past,* Oct. 1908.) There are many bird mounds in Wisconsin and many thunderbird mounds on the coast around Puget Sound. Mound-effigies, pictographs, petroglyphs, tattoos, carvings, and textile representations of the thunderbird and lightning serpent are found among the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, the Ojibwas of the Great Lakes, the Sioux of the Dakotas, the Kwakiutl of the Sound, the Central Eskimo, Tlinkets, and Haida of Alaska, the Crees of the Canadian northwest, the Wichitas, Arapaho, and other tribes of the western plains, the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, and the Aztecs of Mexico.

Among the Chippewas, Dakotas, and Arapaho of the United States, and the Indians of Vancouver and Alaska the eagle was taken as the representative of the thunderbird.* Observations of the habits of eagles, living in pairs, building nests in the crags, screaming, and swooping down to carry off animals and children to feed their young, undoubtedly lent details to the myth of the thunderbird which was said to do all these things. One can easily see how the Miami and Illini legends given above, may have grown out of the depredations of eagles and of death by lightning stroke, always so mysterious to the redman.

We have traced this myth from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Behring's Straits to the Isthmus of Panama. The tribes of Illinois belonged to the same great Algonkin family as the Micmacs, Passimoquoddy, Ojibwas, and Sioux. They had the same myths. And in all human probability the image with the face of a man, the wings and claws of an eagle, and the tail of a serpent, carved on the rocks at Alton, was the great thunderbird or storm-spirit of the Illini.

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* The writer is the possessor of a Thunderbird carved in wood by Klalis, a Kwakiutl Indian from Vancouver. The carving clearly represents an eagle. Klalis said that the Thunderbird formerly lived with his family on the top of a high mountain near Puget Sound. He could be a man or a bird at will. When he wished to fly down the mountain side, he pulled down the visor of his cap, making it a beak. By pushing it up he returned to human form.

LITERATURE AND LITERARY PEOPLE OF EARLY ILLINOIS.

By Isabel Jamison.

The advance guard of daring souls who have, in all ages, followed the star of empire westward, has been made up, to a large extent, of minds whose initial impulses were to feel and to act, instead of to reflect and to study; to whose hands the ax and rifle were more accustomed, and, in the circumstances, more practical, implements than the pen. Many of our sturdiest pioneers, hanging hardily upon the outermost fringe of civilization, were unable to either read or write; and, with the great, wonderful book of nature always open before them, they probably did not greatly feel the deprivation of being without literature manufactured by mere men.

It was not the day of cheap editions, dime magazines, quick mail service, and a life that makes reading a habit; books were luxuries; an occasional magazine, a novelty—something to be looked forward to, and to be treasured afterwards as a triumph of mind over matter; and the long, toilsome journey by wagon or flat boat, to the "western wilderness" did not admit of any unnecessary impedimenta. Therefore the average family coming over the mountains in the day of which I write, did well if they managed to reach the promised land, with the family bible, Pilgrim's Progress and last year's almanac intact.

The early explorers who pushed ever southward to the gulf, wrote accounts of the country in their official reports. The Jesuit "Relations" present a fruitful field to the student of Illinois history, for this reason. Father Hennepin published his first volume in 1683, and LaSalle submitted concise sketches of the important features of the expedition, while Tonti also published a small book on the subject. When Charlevoix descended the Mississippi in 1721, he also left an interesting sketch of what he observed in passing through the Illinois Country. Charles Phillippe Aubry wrote of the forts, but all this belongs to the literature of France. In 1770 Captain Pittman published a detailed account of his investigation of the European settlements on the Mississippi, which he had undertaken for the Colonial Government, the forts in the Illinois Country being included among them; and Judge Brackenridge also reviewed them, in his book, in connection with other matters. Later on, in 1823, Lewis C. Beck published his Gazetteer of Missouri and Illinois, which was considered quite a valuable work, and the "Historical sketches of Louisiana," published by Maj. Amos Stoddard, in 1804, contained some excellent descriptions of the Illinois.

Morris Birkbeck was not only a pioneer, he was a literary pioneer, and one of the first and most important contributions to the literature of the new territory, was his "Notes on a Journey in America," begun in 1817 on board the " 'good ship,' America," in the shape of a journal in which he jotted down his impressions and observations. These "Notes" published in London in 1818, had a wide circulation in his native country and there is no question that they, in connection with his "Letters From Illinois" published later in the year, had much influence upon emigration to Illinois. In fact, if Mr. Birkbeck had no other claims to the laurel wreath of fame, he might have won honorable recognition as a good press agent. He not only boomed his adopted country in true western style, but he gave to it, the beginnings of a literature, as a swarm of Englishmen immediately set sail for the newly-discovered "land of milk and honey," to investigate, and evidently to discredit, if possible, Mr. Birkbeck's reports.

Among the first of these to publish a criticism of Mr. Birkbeck's narratives, was Henry Bradshaw Fearon, who gave to the public the result of his observations in a book entitled, "Sketches of America" in 1819. It contained, among other things, extremely adverse criticism of Mr. Birkbeck's publications, polite abuse of him personally, and laborious satires upon America generally, with all the telling points carefully italicized, so the public would not miss any of them. But, as he was not writing for the American public, it is hardly worth while to quarrel with him about that.

Criticisms of various degrees of virulence were also published by William Cobbett, W. Faux, A. S. Farrall, Dr. C. B. Johnson, Adam Hodgson and Adlard Welby, in books of titles "long drawn out," and all appear to agree that he is a visionary, or worse.

On the other hand, James Stuart, in his "Three Years in America," and John Woods, in his "Two Years Residence in the Settlement on the English Prairie in the Illinois Country," bear witness to Mr. Birkbeck's honesty of purpose; and the latter work, written by an actual colonist and practical farmer, may be regarded as especially valuable testimony.

It is true that persons coming from a country possessing an old and settled state of society, labored under many misapprehensions in regard to the American people, for which they were not wholly to blame. Mr. Birkbeck evidently did not wholly understand the situation, himself, when first he wrote of his neighbors and their limitations. He spoke regretfully of their lack of interest in scientific pursuits, being himself greatly interested in chemical experiments, and lamented the fact that their reading was confined principally to history, politics and poetry. Apparently he had not yet arrived at a realization of the fact that men and women who were engaged in raising a family and subduing a stubborn wilderness, might be too busy to cultivate the arts and sciences. Shooting bear and deer, tanning their skins and making them into clothing, spinning, weaving, building, farming, fencing, grinding corn, dipping candles and fighting Indians in the pauses of more absorbing occupations, did not leave our forefathers and mothers very much time in which to improve their minds along the lines Mr. Birkbeck indicated.

Another discovery which he claims to have made in regard to the character of the Americans generally, is that indolence was their besetting sin. A few pages farther along, he desired to call attention to the "get-rich-quick" character of the Illinois country, and cites the case of a farmer who had, at the start, nothing but his two hands, his little family, and an uncleared quarter-section of land. At the end of three years, this farmer had thirty to forty acres of land cleared and fenced, a cabin, barn, stables, with horses, cows, hogs, implements, furniture, grain and other provisions—all of which would seem to indicate that somebody on that quarter-section had been busy.

Morris Birkbeck was a radical on the question of slavery, and is said to have selected Illinois as his place of residence because it was a free State. Later, when the attempt was made to make a slave state of it, his articles against slavery, published in the newspapers and in pamphlet form, both over his own signature and his nom-de-plume of "Jonathan Freeman," exerted an enormous influence. His untimely death in 1825, when he was drowned while returning from a visit to Mr. Owen at New Harmony, was an irreparable loss to the new state.

Although George Flower, Mr. Birkbeck's associate at the English Settlement, did not publish his history until Illinois literature could no longer be considered as "early," yet I cannot pass it without a mere mention of this valuable work. Richard Flower, the father of George, is said to have been the founder of the public library at Albion, Illinois in 1818, the books therein being a donation from the Flower family and their friends in England. It was kept in one end of a brick building that was used as a market place, and was open Sunday afternoons.

James Hall, born in Philadelphia, August 19, 1793, was one of the most prolific western writers, and appears to have inherited his literary talents from his mother, Sarah Hall, a woman of great erudition and fine intelligence, who was one of the chief contributors to the "Portfolio," established by Dennie in 1800; and she afterwards aided her son Harrison in its publication. James Hall emigrated west, and in 1820, began contributing articles descriptive of the west and its people, to the "Portfolio." About 1828, he became interested in the "Illinois Intelligencer," at Vandalia; and in October, 1829, he, with Mr. Robert Blackwell, issued the first number of the "Illinois Monthly Magazine," the first attempt at periodical literature in the state. This magazine ran for two years, but, owing to the difficulty of getting labor and material at Vandalia, the second volume of the magazine was published partly at St. Louis and partly at Cincinnati; and in January, 1833, Judge Hall removed it to Cincinnati, where it was continued for three years under the name, "The Western Monthly Magazine, A Continuation of The Illinois Monthly Magazine."

As a writer, Judge Hall was both fluent and entertaining, but as his contributions to literature are considered in detail in another paper, I will not dwell upon them here.

Robert S. Blackwell, who was associated with Judge Hall in the publication of the Illinois Monthly Magazine, and who died at the age of 38, was the author of a noted legal work, "Blackwell on Tax Titles," which was considered an excellent work, and was a standard treatise throughout the United States.

A small volume entitled, "Observations made upon a Journey Through the Interior of the United States of North America in the Year 1819," was published in the German language by Ferdinand Ernst, in 1823; and in 1821, John Messinger, whom Governor Reynolds characterized as the most profound mathematician and best land surveyor in Illinois, published a text book on surveying. He lived at Clinton Hill, a few miles northeast of Belleville, and surveyed much of the public domain in Randolph and St. Clair counties.

Dr. David Nelson, born at Jonesboro, Tenn., September 24, 1793, was the author of the religious poems, "The Shining Shore," "A Fairer Land," "Rest in Heaven," and, in 1836, wrote a work entitled, "The Cause and Cure of Infidelity," which was followed later by another book, "Wealth and Honor." He died near Quincy, Illinois in 1844.

In 1805, Col. Donaldson came to Illinois from Baltimore, to investigate land titles at St. Louis. With him came his sister, a young lady of a romantic turn of mind, whose fancy had been caught by reports of the western wilderness, and, while sojourning upon the prairies, she met and married Robert Morrison, an official of the Territorial Government, residing at Kaskaskia. Mrs. Morrison had received an excellent education, and possessed a strong, original and cultured mind. She remodeled in verse the orthodox Psalms of David, and presented the volume for the consideration of the church dignitaries in Philadelphia, proposing its use in the church. After a critical examination, her work was rejected; more, it was said, on account of the obscurity of the author than from lack of merit. She wrote many poems of high order, and her contributions to the scientific publications of Mr. Walsh in Philadelphia, were numerous and popular. At the request of her friends, she often wrote petitions and memorials to Congress and to the President, which were not only of a high order of composition, but were sound in judgment as well. She died in Belleville in 1843.

In 1828, Timothy Flint, a missionary stationed at St. Louis, who traveled through the Illinois country, and who resided for a time on the Cahokia prairie, wrote a romantic novel in which the hero and heroine were shipwrecked in the southern ocean, and after various wanderings and adventures, settled down to rural felicity on the Illinois prairies. Soon after this, he wrote "George Mason, the Young Backwoodsman;" and in 1833, published "Flint's History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley," in which he refers to the valley of the Sangamon as "an Arcadian region in which nature has delighted to bring together her happiest combinations of landscape."

Dr. J. M. Peck, born in 1787, in the parish of South Farms, Conn., received the rudiments of education in the free schools of his native parish, laboring with his parents on their farm in the long vacations.

Neither the means of the family nor the leisure of the boy afforded opportunity for a collegiate education, and the high school, or academy of the same parish, finished his course of schooling. But with his vigorous mental endowments and unceasing energy and industry, he overcame the lack of college training, and became one of the most intellectual men of his age.

After making an early marriage, Dr. Peck moved west and settled for a time in New York, removing some years later to what was then called "the Far West," and which was rather indefinitely located "somewhere on the banks of the Mississippi," according to Governor Reynolds. After some years spent in teaching school, Dr. Peck entered the ministry of the Baptist church, and continued preaching the gospel for nearly a half century. Governor Reynolds considers it worthy of note that Dr. Peck never allowed politics or any other irrelevant matter to enter into his sermons, which he declares were "masterly efforts of pulpit preaching."

It was late in the fall of 1817, when Dr. Peck, his wife, and probably one child, reached Shawneetown, Illinois from New York, part of the journey having been accomplished in a small wagon with one horse. Later in the season, the family arrived in St. Louis, where Dr. Peck began teaching and preaching. He was also appointed agent of a bible society, and traversed the settled parts of Missouri in every direction in pursuit of his labors. He is described as never being idle a moment, and his journals and the sketches of his travels testify to his energy and activity. He thus became personally acquainted with many of the pioneers of the country, and collected much of the history of Daniel Boone from the lips of Boone himself. In later years he put this material into the shape of a biography. The sketches of Dr. Peck on the early settlement of Missouri, were published in the Western Watchman and other papers.

By nature, Dr. Peck was strong and robust, more than six feet tall and possessing a remarkably muscular frame. He was lean and athletic, weighing about 180 pounds. His head was large and well-developed, his complexion fair, eyes blue, and his habitual dress was that of a "neat, well-informed agriculturist," according to his friend, Governor Reynolds.

In 1821, Dr. Peck established a seminary of learning at Rock Spring, Illinois in St. Clair county, cutting the timber of which it was constructed, in the dead of winter, with the assistance of his hired men. On New Year's day, he gave a dinner to those of his friends who were interested in education, and at this dinner was founded the "Theological Seminary and High School" of Rock Spring. The land around Rock Spring, Dr. Peck entered in 1821, and built his home seven or eight miles northeast of Belleville, on the old Vincennes Post Road. To the literature of Illinois, Dr. Peck contributed many articles on agriculture and aborginal and western history. He also published a "Guide for Emigrants" and a "Gazetteer of Illinois," and edited Perkins "Annals of the West" with so much energy and thoroughness that it was practically a new work when he had finished with it.

Dr. Peck died at Rock Spring, Illinois in 1858 and was interred in Bellefontaine cemetery, St. Louis. After his death, Governor Reynolds published at Belleville, a pamphlet entitled, "Friendship's Offering, a Sketch of the Life of John Mason Peck," in which he relates the early struggles of Dr. Peck, both before and after coming to Illinois. In his sketch, Governor Reynolds expressed regret that Dr. Peck's duties as a teacher and preacher had so sadly interferred with his possibilities as an author. He also touched lightly upon the fact that Dr. Peck was so absorbed in his zeal for the education of the general public that he overlooked the needs of his own family in that direction, and as a result, his children shared the traditional fate of "blacksmiths' horses and shoemakers' wives," receiving only a common school education, "because," as Governor Reynolds quaintly puts it, "the doctor was so intensely occupied in his other avocations that he did not take time to attend to his own family."

When repeatedly solicited by Governor Reynolds, to write a history of Illinois, Dr. Peck urged the objection that he had been unable to collect sufficient authentic material for a history. He was, however, named as chief historian of an association formed in 1837 for the purpose of compiling a history of Illinois, to be written without prejudice, political, religious or local. A number of sub-historians were appointed to assist in the collection of historical data, and as we may conclude that these names embraced the cream of Illinois' literary talent, I will give them: Sidney Breese, Nathaniel Pope, William Brown, James Lemen, William Kinney, Samuel McRoberts, Samuel D. Lockwood, Zadoc Casey, Thomas Ford, Cyrus Edwards, John Reynolds, Prof. John Russell, John Hay, Richard M. Young, James M. Robinson, Pierre Menard, John McKenzie, William Thomas and Rev. Gideon Blackburn. Unfortunately this magnificent enterprise perished for lack of financial support.

Dr. Peck is said by Governor Reynolds, to have been engaged upon a more ambitious work than any he had yet produced. "The Progress of the Mississippi valley"—when death claimed him, and it remained unfinished. "The reason I urged Dr. Peck to write more and preach less, was because I thought he could do the human race more service by presenting his great and extraordinary fund of knowledge in an imperishable form in books," Governor Reynolds explained in his memorial, and adds that in all Dr. Peck's works, his statements may be accepted as standards.

The first edition of Dr. Peck's "Gazetteer," was published by the pioneer publishing house of R. Goudy, of Jacksonville, Illinois, which concern also issued a greatly-prized edition of the ubiquitous household almanac of those days.

Professor John Russell, an associate of Dr. Peck at Rock Spring, who lived at a beautiful spot called Bluff Dale, was a finished and elegant, though not a voluminous writer, and many of his articles were published anonymously. This latter fact made possible the pirating of his story of the legend of the Piasa Bird, by a Frenchman, living in this country, and which attracted quite a little attention in the literary world at that time.

In 1826, William Biggs, who was one of George Rogers Clark's soldiers, and was granted three sections of land in recognition of his services, wrote an account of an adventure with the Indians, in which his companion was killed and he was taken prisoner. Biggs secured his liberty by paying a ransom of $260.00. Another narrative of an Indian captive, was Mrs. Jane Lewis' capture by a band of Sac and Fox Indians, supposed to be commanded by Black Hawk.

In the next few years, several books relating to Black Hawk were published, among them being that of John Wakefield, printed at Jacksonville, Illinois in 1834, in which the writer posed Judge Sidney Breese as a hero. On the strength of this favorable mention, it is said that Wakefield afterwards solicited a particular favor at the hands of Judge Breese. On being refused, Mr. Wakefield indignantly assured the Judge that he would re-write the history of the Black Hawk war, and that he would figure very differently in the revised edition.

In 1839, Benjamin Drake published a "Life and Adventures of Black Hawk, with Sketches of Keokuk and the Sac and Fox Indians," followed in 1848 by another book on the same subject, published by George Conclin, while in the same year a poem by E. H. Smith appeared, entitled, "Black Hawk, and Scenes in the West."

As a result of his tour of the prairies in 1833, the well known writer, Charles Fenno Hoffman produced a book entitled, "A Winter in the West," which obtained wide popularity both in America and England. About the same time, Francis Parkman, the historian, made a tour of the prairies on his way to the Rocky Mountains, which he described in his own style of easy narration; and a few years later, Harriet Martineau published a book on "Strange Early Days in Chicago."

"Illinois in 1837" published in Philadelphia by S. Augustus Mitchell, containing a letter on "The Cultivation of the Prairies," by Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, and "Letters from a Rambler in the West," acknowledges its author's obligation for information contained therein, to such undeniable authorities as Rev. J. M. Peck, Flint's "Geography and Gazetteer," Beck's "Gazetteer," Schoolcraft, and others; in spite of which, we find A. D. Jones publishing the following year, a little volume entitled, 'Illinois and the West,'" in which he solemnly warns the public to beware of "a book bearing on its covers the title, "Illinois in 1837; it is full of high-wrought and false colored descriptions, and cannot safely be relied upon as a gazetteer." The same author pays a very florid compliment to the literary and classical attainments of a large number of the inhabitants of Illinois.

Elijah Parrish Lovejoy, who removed to Alton with his anti-slavery paper, "The Observer," in 1836, was an earnest and forcible political writer, as well as being the author of several poems, one of which, entitled, "My Mother," was much admired. After his tragic death at the hands of the mob, his brothers, Joseph C. and Owen Lovejoy, prepared and published his memoirs in 1838.

Philander Chase, the pioneer Bishop of the Mississippi valley, published his "Reminiscences" in 1848, besides many letters and pamphlets. Another clerical writer, William Henry Milburn, known as "the blind preacher," was twelve years old when he came to Jacksonville, Illinois with his father. He achieved considerable prominence by his lectures and writings. Among the latters were: "Ten years of Preacher Life" (1858); "Rifle, Ax and Saddle-bags" (1856); "Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley" (1860).

Sidney Breese, who had resided in the State since 1818, compiled the first volume of State law reports in 1831, which is said to have been the first book printed in Illinois. His discourse upon the history of the State, delivered by request, before the General Assembly in 1842, was afterwards made the basis of a history of Illinois, published after his death.

Henry Brown's "History of Illinois from its Discovery to the Present Time," was published in 1844, and is a readable book, although not possessing for the general reader the charm of Governor Thomas Ford's "History of Illinois" published ten years later, and which, next to Reynold's "Pioneer History" is probably quoted more frequently than any other authority on the history of the State.

In 1857 Gerhard published a sort of history and gazetteer combined, intended for the encouragement and guidance of prospective settlers, entitled, "Illinois As It Is"; and in 1856, "Waubun, or Early Day in the Northwest," by Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, made a notable addition to both the history and the literature of the State, being one of the most interesting accounts that has ever appeared of pioneer life.

In 1850, Daniel S. Curtiss published a little volume entitled, "Western Portraiture;" Dewitt S. Drown followed with his "Record and Historical View of Peoria, from the Discovery by French Jesuits to Present," and his "Almanac for 1851, Calculated for the Latitude and Longitude of Peoria;" and a little later, Mrs. Sarah Marshall Hayden, daughter of John Marshall, published "Florence" and "Early Engagements," the first books written by an Illinois woman.

In 1842 Illinois was honored with a visit by Charles Dickens, at that time an eager, intolerant young man of thirty years, possessing decided opinions upon many subjects, and a trenchant pen with which to disseminate them. His "American Notes" aroused a storm of criticism, particularly his diatribes against the then honorable institution of slavery. As he only penetrated Illinois as far as "Looking Glass Prairie," which he characterized as disappointing in comparison with the English Downs, and teeming with miasma, mud and pigs, he was manifestly unable to form a correct idea of the real beauties of the Illinois prairie under favorable conditions. The subject nearest the American heart and most frequently upon the American tongue, of "dollars, dollars, dollars," and the American tendency to expectorate upon all occasions; the ceaseless "chirping" of the frogs and the equally unceasing attentions of bugs and mosquitos, developed in the young traveler an honest nostalgia that expressed itself in his letters in the form of a hearty disgust of most things American, although he admits that his hosts fed him upon "wheat bread and chicken fixings" instead of "corn bread and common doings," and is more than once betrayed into a grudging commendation of the cuisine. Looking back upon those strenuous days, we can now afford to admit that Dickens probably saw things, and described them, very much as they were, not with the eye of faith in the great west, hope of the day when those desolate muddy prairies should blossom with the result of their own hardy labors, and charity for the unlovely aspects of pioneer life that we may be proud to claim as the foremost attributes of our American forefathers, and which has made the Illinois of today one of the greatest states of the Union.

Turning to the Mormon invasion of the State in 1839, we find that they contributed little to our early literature, outside of their religious works. An American edition of the Book of Mormon, revised to date, was published at Nauvoo in 1842, and the "Millennial Star" published the autobiography of the Prophet on the installment plan, while many of his addresses to his followers appeared in "Times and Seasons," a paper published at Nauvoo. "General" J. Arlington Bennett, of the Nauvoo Legion, who expected to be elected Governor of the State with the aid of the Mormons, was a writer of some note, and mentions in a letter to Joseph Smith, having received two thousand dollars from the Harpers' publishing house for his articles. Removing to New York where he engaged in law practice about 1844, he wrote much for the New York papers, and also published a book exposing the iniquities of his former friend, Joseph Smith. Orson T. Pratt, emigration agent at Liverpool for the Mormon church, contributed a little volume entitled, "Remarkable Visions," and about 1852 an English writer who had made a tour of the west, published a little volume entitled, "The Mormons," in which the correspondence between Joseph Smith and Henry Clay is made a feature. W. W. Phelps, a Mormon journalist, wrote many letters and pamphlets explaining the religious tenets of the sect. After the murder of Smith, an eye witness of the affair named Daniels, published a small book giving the particulars.

The Icarians appear to have been still more chary of leaving any literary remains in Illinois, although there must have been many brilliant minds among the little group of men and women who had come to the new world in search of their ideals. Their official organ, "The Icarian," which was issued somewhat irregularly, was the medium through which they communicated their ideas to the world, among the names of the contributors being those of Pierrot, Mourot and Cottet, although Etienne Cabet was, of course, the chief contributor.

Hooper Warren, for some years publisher of the *Edwardsville Spectator,* at which time it was considered the best newspaper in the State, was a writer of marked ability, and during the slavery controversy, exerted a great and far-reaching influence upon the minds of the people through his newspaper articles.

John Ludlam McConnel, born at Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1826, was a brilliant writer as well as a lawyer of marked ability. His father, Murray McConnel was a pioneer of the State, having fought in the Black Hawk war and served in both branches of the State Legislature. The son studied law in his father's office, and later, graduated from the law school of Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky. He enlisted as a private in the Mexican war in 1846, and rose from the ranks until his appointment as captain of his company after the battle of Buena Vista, at which time he was twice wounded. After the close of the war, he returned to Jacksonville, where he practiced law until his death in 1862, of an illness resulting from his Mexican campaign. He wrote a number of books illustrating western life and character, among them being "Talbott and Vernon" (New York, 1850); "The Glenns" (1851); and "Western Characters or Types of Border Life" (Boston, 1853.) At the time of his death he was engaged upon a work to be entitled, "History of Early Explorations in America," having reference especially to the labors and heroism of the early Catholic Missionaries.

A man who made some of the most important contributions to the historical literature of Illinois, was John Reynolds, fourth Governor of the State.. In an article published in the *Western Advocate,* the authorship of which was unacknowledged, but which was generally considered to be from the pen of Governor Reynolds, himself—the writer says: "No man in the State ever possessed so much personal popularity with the masses as Governor Reynolds did." At the same time, the article states positively that the Governor has no taste for politics.

Referring to his Pioneer History of Illinois, the article continues: "This book, and, in truth, all his works, are written in that singular, unpretending style of naiveness that makes his writings so acceptable to all classes of people. In his style and composition there are no labored nor rounded paragraphs to show the reader what an elegant writer he is; but he moves straight on with his thoughts like a person narrating the truth from the heart." The Pioneer History is without any doubt, very interesting reading, although some of his political rivals have hinted that sundry of the statements contained therein should be taken with a grain of salt.

His next book was a collection of sketches of a journey from Belleville to New York, and a visit to the Crystal Palace; and, in the *Belleville Eagle* of August 1, 1853, sandwiched between a marriage announcement and a lurid advertisement of Mustang Liniment, we find the following:

"NOTICE.

A few copies of the "Life and Adventures of John Kelly" are for sale at the bookstore of Harvey Walker & Co., Belleville.

Get a copy before they are all sold. The perusal of the pamphlet will improve you.

July 27, 1853."

This small pamphlet, however, did not meet with the success that Governor Reynolds anticipated.

Again quoting from the article in the *Advocate,* and referring to his recent book, "My Own Times," the writer says: "On this work, the ex-Governor has labored with energy and activity, and his efforts have been crowned with success. Having resided in Illinois since 1800, the author was able to give a history of the country from his own personal observations. His memory is remarkably retentive, and it has, together with his sound judgment, given him the power to relate the history of the times through half a century, with all the details and circumstances. No one knew the western people better than the 'Old Ranger' himself, as he was one of them. * * * Although this work is just out of the press, it is hailed as the best history of the subject of which it treats, that has yet been published. There is little doubt that 20,000 copies of this work, and perhaps more, will be sold in the State of Illinois alone."

If Governor Reynolds really was his own biographer in this instance, he certainly gives every evidence of a hearty appreciation of his own merits. "My Own Times," was published in 1855, an edition of probably not more than 400 volumes being printed at a job office in Belleville, and it was taken for sale by a single bookseller of Chicago, at the author's suggestion. Before it had fairly been placed on the market, the entire stock at Chicago was destroyed by fire, and for a time it became one of the lost books of literature. Fortunately, a few copies were afloat through the State, and many years later a reprint was issued.

In 1860, Governor Reynolds published at Belleville, a rather remarkable pamphlet entitled. "Balm of Gilead," which he termed "An Inquiry into the Right of Human Slavery." In his introduction, he states that he deems it his duty to present the question to the public, and asserts that 'slave' property, like other property, must be sustained both by public opinion and the power of the government, or otherwise, the Union cannot, and will not, be continued. No reasonable man who is not blinded by fanaticism, or who is not riding fanaticism into office, will believe that four millions of slaves can be emancipated in the southern states in direct violation of the Constitution, and the Union withstand the shock." He asserts further, in his opening chapter that "The laws and Constitution protect slave property more firmly than any other property; but, notwithstanding the government protection of this species of property, the right of slavery stands on moral, virtuous and equitable principles." He goes back to the ancient philosophers of Greece and Rome to prove that the greatest good to the greatest number should be the basic principle upon which the fabric of society should rest. He brings forward many ingenious arguments to prove that the people of the African race are only grownup children, and that, having remained stationery in the scale of civilization for so many ages, nature evidently prescribed these limits for them. He compares the cohesion of the Abolitionists to the religious organization of the Mormons, and the followers of John Brown are declared to be of the same class as those in the French Revolution, who "fraternized on pikes, and feasted on blood." His conclusion is that "we, in the United States at this day, with slavery, enjoy the most perfect and the most free government on earth, and I pray that it may be continued forever!"

There were many other writers whose productions were given to the public in the form of pamphlets and hand-bills, which, although meritorious were too unsubstantial to survive the wear and tear of time. Other brilliant minds were too busily engaged in making history, to stop to write it. Consequently this paper does not pretend to even make mention of all the vigorous and intellectual sons of the State who helped to build an empire upon the Illinois prairies. But having considered in a brief manner, some of the prose writers whose works are most available for study at the present day, I will pass on to the poets.

Prior to 1845, newspapers and infrequent magazines were the only vehicles for embarking the poetical effusions of pioneer Illinois upon the troubled sea of literature. During the time Judge Hall was publishing the *Illinois Monthly Magazine* at Vandalia, Anna P. Dinnies, a native of South Carolina, who was then living in St. Louis, became a contributor to the magazine under the nom-de-plume of "Moina." Her poems were most devoted to portraying the domestic affections.

In 1825, Micah P. Flint, son of Timothy Flint, wrote a poem on "The Mounds of Cahokia," which his father deemed worthy of being incorporated in his own book, "Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley." During the short time which the family spent in a farmhouse on the Cahokia prairie, young Micah Flint, being at an impressionable age, fell under the spell of the virgin prairies of Illinois, and wrote several other poems suggested by his novel surroundings, one of which was of unusual merit for a youth, and was entitled, "The Silent Monks." The poem had for its subject the "Trappist Fathers," who had their residence near the largest of the Indian Mounds in the American bottom, and who were vowed to a perpetual silence that might be broken only when the angel of death came to summon them. The mystery of their quietly-tragic lives touched a sympathetic chord in the heart of the boy, and he pondered much over their somber existence, and the probable reasons for this death-in-life.

" 'Twas said around
That they had deeply sinned beyond the seas.
Haply they thought to fly from their dark hearts;
And they came o'er the billow, wandering still,
Far to the West; here, amidst a boundless waste
Of rank and gaudy flowers, and o'er the bones
Of unknown races of the past, they dwelt."

The first volume of poems by one author, published in Illinois, was printed in Chicago by James Campbell & Co. in January, 1845. It was a small book of 208 pages, entitled, "Miscellaneous Poems," to which were added prose sketches on various subjects. The author, William Asbury Kenyon, was a native of Hingham, Mass., who had taught school in the rural districts of Illinois, and traveled quite extensively through the State. The poems refer mainly to prairie scenes, but also contain a number of satires on such of the local backwoods customs as had impressed this scion of the effete and cultured east.

It is painful to be obliged to chronicle the fact that the poetical merit of the satires is quite as open to ridicule as were the customs they satirized.

Elijah Evan Edwards, born in Delaware, Ohio in 1831, came to Illinois as principal of Lamont Seminary, in Cook county, and his writing both prose and verse, were published in the magazines and newspapers of the day. Frances A. Shaw, a native of Maine, who taught in the schools of Galena, contributed occasional poems to the newspapers in the early fifties. Her best known poem was "Minnehaha," printed in 1855. Luella Clark, a teacher in the Northwestern Female College at Evanston, in 1860, wrote a number of miscellaneous poems for the papers. Emma Alice Brown, of Bloomington, a blood relative of Felicia Hemans, is said to have composed poems before she possessed the ability to put them into writing. Another schoolmaster who came west to train the young intellects of pioneer Illinois, and who, like Silas Wegg, "often dropped into poetry," was William Dana Emerson, a native of Ohio. He became, as a matter of course, thoroughly acquainted with the ups and downs of pioneer life on the prairies, a fact that exerted a marked influence upon his writings. In 1850, he gathered these scattered offspring of his brain into a volume entitled, "Occasional Thoughts in Verse," which he had printed for private circulation, only.

William H. Bushnell, born in Hudson, N. Y., made his debut as a poet before the Junior Lyceum of Chicago, on the anniversary of Washington's birthday, in 1843. Later he wrote graphic sketches of Indian life under the nom-de-plume of "Frank Webber," and also a novel entitled, "Prairie Fire."

Journalism and literature proper, were so closely connected in the early days of Illinois, that it was but a step from one to the other, with journalism, in most cases, figuring as the stepping-stone. Thomas Gregg, a native of Ohio, was for some years connected with the *Warsaw Signal;* later he moved to Hamilton, Illinois, and during his residence in the State, he was the author of a number of short poems, those best known being "The Winds," and "The Whippoorwill." He also wrote a book entitled "The Prophet of Palmyra."

In 1850, Benjamin F. Taylor came to Chicago from New York, to engage in newspaper work. In 1855 he published a volume of poems and sketches entitled, "January and June." He was also in much demand as a lecturer, and his newspaper articles written at his home in Wheaton, Illinois were widely copied in contemporary papers. One, at least, of his poems—"God Bless Our Stars!"—will recall to the minds of some, the little, unpainted schoolhouse, riding desolately at anchor in a sea of billowing prairie grass, and an uneasy line of trowsered and aproned pupils painfully toeing a crack in the rough, plank floor, as they firmly grasped their Sanders readers, and droned in concert:

"Oh, long ago at Lexington,
And above the minute-men,
The old Thirteen were blazing bright,—
There were only thirteen then!—
God's own stars are shining through it,—
Stars not woven in its thread;
Unfurl it, and that flag will gleam
With the Heaven overhead!"

They used to rub patriotism in, five days in the week, in the old district schoolhouse.

It was early in 1831, when John Howard Bryant, a brother of William Cullen Bryant, became a squatter on Illinois lands in Bureau county; and when the public lands of the State came into the market, he purchased a large farm. He was twice sent to the Legislature from Bureau county, and while he was devoted to agriculture even more than to politics, he still found time to exercise the poetic bent of mind which he, like his talented brother, had inherited from a literary father. In his work on the "Poets and Poetry of America," Rufus Wilmot Griswold said of him: "His poems have the same characteristics as those of his brother. He is a lover of nature, and describes effectively and minutely what he sees. To him the wind and stream are ever musical, and the forests and prairie clothed in beauty." Mr. Bryant collected his poems in a volume of 93 pages, in 1855.

To anyone who possessed a scrap of poetic fire in his nature, Illinois offered one attraction that never failed to inspire a song of tribute to those far-reaching stretches of verdure set with myriad gems of wild flowers in spring; waving in blue-green, sinuous billows beneath a fervent summer sky; writhing and roaring in the clutch of an autumn prairie-fire; or, lying cold and white under the pitiless light of the winter moon, silent, except for the quivering howl of some prowling wolf.

"These are the gardens of the desert; these
The unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful,
For which the speech of England has no name,—
The Prairies."
"I behold them for the first,
And my heart swells, while the dilated sight
Takes in the encircling vastness."

Thus sang William Cullen Bryant, after his first visit to the Illinois prairies. In the earlier days of travel in Illinois, there was necessarily, much stage-coaching, which gave the traveler an opportunity of enjoying the beauties of nature—always providing the condition of the roads left him in a proper frame of mind to do so—and that the valley of the Sangamon in its early summer garment of leaf and flower, must have been a rarely beautiful sight, is evidenced by Bryant's little poem, "The Painted Cup."

"The fresh savannas of the Sangamon,
Here rise in gentle swells, and the long grass
Is mixed with rustling hazels; scarlet tufts
Are glowing in the green like flakes of fire.
The wanderers of the Prairie know them well,
And call that flower the Painted Cup."

The "Judaid," a classic detailing the Rise and Decline of the Jews from the Exodus from Egypt to the destruction of their temple by the Romans, was published in 1844 by Prof. Johnson Pierson, of McKendree College, Lebanon, Illinois, of which he was one of the first graduates. He was born in Virginia in 1813. In his introduction, the author states that his poem was not begun with a view to publication, a part of it having been composed and recited as an exercise at the Commencement at McKendree in 1838, under the title, "The Destruction of Jerusalem." He adds, "The subject is one I have loved from my boyhood. The events connected with the fortunes of the Jewish nation are of such a character as to endear their history to every individual of the human family." The poem recites the history of the Jewish nation in excellent verse, closing with the fall of Jerusalem before the invading Romans:

"Ah, mitred Queen, whose scepter, and whose throne
Has made the Eastern empire all thine own,
How art thou fallen!—in the dust laid low,
And all thy splendor wrapped in weeds of woe!

"All, all is gone, for ruin widely now
Lifts his grim visage o'er thy princely brow;
Nor aught remains of all thy pride, to tell
Where thou once was, or where thy glory fell.
But yet shall thou among thy wastes arise,
And clear the night of ages from thy skies!"

Edward Reynolds Roe, who published in 1852, in the *Alton Courier,* a serial story entitled, "Virginia Rose," later published several volumes of prose and poetry, one of them being "Prairie-land and Other Poems," while Dr. Edward Taylor wrote a volume of poems which were published under the title of "Moods, and Other Verses." Sarah Rumsey, of Springfield was a writer of both prose and poetry under the nom-de-plume of "Catherine Gordon" and "Evangeline," but death cut short her literary career. Her poems were collected in a volume after her death.

In 1857, Benjamin F. W. Stribling, second son of Benjamin Stribling, of Virginia, Illinois, published a little volume of poems on various subjects, which was printed at the office of the *Beardstown Illinoisan.* Frank Stribling, as he was called, possessed a limited education, but considerable poetic energy as well as matrimonial enterprise, he having been married three times. His little book of 238 pages, embraces a wide range of subjects. That he was inclined to be progressive is shown by his poem, "The Railroad Song," in which he advocates the construction of a railroad to carry their wheat to market.

"Then let us join and build a road
That's good when dry and when there's mud.
Come, rise up, boys, no more delay!
Procrastination will not pay.
Let's pledge our faith and yellow dust
To build the road—we can, we must!"

Generally speaking, his poetry would indicate that he was the possessor of a religious mind, yet we are told that he was not a church member. Like a number of other unfortunates, who, in their day have been cursed with a poetical temperament of no commercial value, Mr. Stribling lived and died in an atmosphere of respectable poverty, as his closing poem would indicate:

"Now I must work for daily bread,
While thoughts poetic fill my head,—
Imagination's work.
And in my pockets not a cent
But what has been already spent—
As poor as Job's old turk!"

About the same time, in the northern end of the State, another poet was sighing over the sad fate that condemned her to live and die unappreciated. Sarah Lett was born in Chatham, Ontario, in 1824, afflicted with a frail body, and, in her early years, an impediment in speech. Nevertheless she possessed an intelligent mind and a poetic nature, as the sequel showed. Having lost both father and mother, the remnant of the family, after various wanderings, drifted to the northern part of LaSalle county, where Sara married a young farmer named Cotteau, whose family had settled a short distance from the Lett homestead.

Being of a sensitive disposition, she lived among her books and flowers, as quiet a life as was compatible with the manifold duties of a pioneer farmer's wife; reading her weekly newspaper at night by the light of fire-place and tallow candle. And all the while, she was singing blithely or sadly, her own little songs, almost as spontaneously and unconsciously as the birds sang in the trees about her door. Some of these little poems found a haven in the columns of the weekly newspapers of the day, and a few were set to music, that she never heard sung.

She sang of the every-day things that hedged her in—of her joys and sorrows, but most of all she sang of patriotism—of the heroes of her own Canadian home, of her adopted country's flag, of the gallant deeds of the boys in blue, of the sorrow and pity of slavery and oppression everywhere. That she longed for a larger audience and more intelligent appreciation, is shown by her half-ironical, half-sad author's preface:

"Oh, isn't it hard to be a poet,
And live and die, and let nobody know it!
To sing your songs to the passing breeze,
Or jot them down when nobody sees,—
Poor little pitiful things like these!"

Years after her death, her poems were painstakingly gathered from hither and yon, by her daughter, Ida Cotteau, of whom she sang, as a child:

"She stood by the pasture bars,
And she looked so pretty and sweet;
Her eyes were like luminous stars;
There was dust on her little bare feet."

The problem of finding a publisher for the little old-fashioned songs, was solved by means of an advertisement in a Chicago paper; and, after half a lifetime, Ida Cotteau had the satisfaction of completing her labor of love, and only just in time, for, a few weeks ago, she, too, passed away.

The poetry of early Illinois may need an occasional twist in the pronunciation to help out a rhyme, or it may now and then be necessary to use artificial means to keep its metrical feet from "interfering," but three characteristics it undoubtedly possessed—religious fervor, patriotism and appreciation of the beauties of nature.

That some of our early Illinois poets were crude in their manner of expressing the message that clamored "to be heard of mankind," there is no use denying; but, when all is said and done, I doubt very much whether the newspaper jingles of the present day will stand very much higher in the estimation of coming generations than those perpetrated by our forefathers and mothers. Our aim nowadays, seems to be solely to amuse, but these pioneer verses, almost without exception, bring in their hands some underlying admonition, precept or moral to justify their presence upon the sea of literature. It may be more practical to hitch your Pegasus to a fence-post, but even the frustrated attempt to hitch him to a star ought to be more uplifting.

CHICAGO AS IT WAS AND IS.

By Edwin O. Gale.

It was a beautiful morning on the twenty-fifth of May, 1835, when the brig Illinois cast its anchor some half a mile from Fort Dearborn, and birch bark canoes, yawls and lighters assembled to transfer from the tiresome craft to the uninviting shore the timid immigrants and their household treasures. As the first vessel of the season, our modest sail excited a great deal of interest, especially among the Indians, who succeeded in inducing a few fearless whites to accept their services. Their light canoes scarcely ruffled the placid lake as their dextrous paddles brought them swiftly to the shore.

The writer, being but a trifle over three years of age at this eventful period, does not recall the landing nor does he distinctly remember many of the circumstances that occurred while the mass of the Indians still lived in Chicago, for the majority of the red men moved, under the terms of their treaty, to Iowa in the fall of 1835 and 1836. But for a number of years straggling bands from Wisconsin and Michigan frequently arrived to sell pelts, maple sugar and the ornamented handiwork of the skillful squaws, which surviving girls and boys of that period joyfully remember. As we pass from these happy experiences of our childhood and recall the floating years of three quarters of the century, which mark the marvelous progress of that early Chicago with its six hundred, venturesome whites and eight times that number of its passing aborigines, it seems like a fairy tale or a fabulous story conceived by some gifted romancer.

Among the most prominent young people of our earliest days were the families of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, familiarly known as Col. John Beaubien, and his younger brother Mark, the children of whom were among our most constant playmates. Alexander, the son of John, was born January 28, 1822. Although ten years the senior of the writer, yet time on its fleeting wing commenced in a few years to obliterate the difference in our ages, and so mutual and earnest a friendship had been established that when he died, as an honorary pall-bearer I served my friend.

It was on the twenty-seventh of March, 1907, that this veteran of 85 years closed his eyes upon the marvelous city—the fifth in size of the world—which claims some two and a half million citizens, while when he

EDWIN O. GALE.

first beheld the light of day the hamlet contained but one white family—the Kinzies—beside his own. His cherished mother, Josette Laframboise, saved from the Fort Dearborn massacre, had been a useful and esteemed member of John Kinzie's household. She had an Indian mother, but, as the second wife of John Beaubien was beloved and venerated by their children. Our friend inherited the tastes and attributes of his mother's progenitors, and he told me that in 1833, at the age of 11, he shot and killed a black bear in the timber where Franklin street and Jackson boulevard now are. By 1840, game became too scarce in Chicago to suit the tastes of the Beaubiens, and the family removed to the Des Plaines, returning to the city in 1855.

One bright Sunday morning in 1844, Alexander, with his brother Philip and four other comrades, chased a gray wolf through the Des Plaines timber for a long distance. When the foaming horses, panting dogs and nearly exhausted victim at length reached my father's farm, now the site of Galewood, I hastily mounted a horse and joined in the chase with a fresh, powerful dog. We soon had the wolf killed, and I, being the youngest boy there, Aleck gave me the "brush," much to my pride and delight. Years ago that farm was taken into the city.

But to return to the advancement of Chicago and vicinity.

Schoolcraft, who attended the Indian council in 1821, in the north side grove, opposite the fort as a protection, states that "all the white men living between Chicago and the Mississippi as far north as Green Bay were present, and there were less than twenty in attendance." Even as late as 1825, there were but thirteen taxpayers in the place, their aggregate possessions being estimated at $8,947, upon which they were assessed one per cent, yielding the munificent sum of $89.47. That practically included most of the personal possessions held in our present county of Cook, organized in 1831. Today, the wealth is placed by the Board of Review at over two and one-third billion dollars ($2,375,078,435.)

The county of Cook previous to 1831, included the present counties of Cook, DuPage, Will, Lake and McHenry.

The thirteen illustrious patriots who grandly paid $89.47 taxes in 1825, took great pride in organizing the county in 1831. Two years after that commendable event, they felt that it would be a proud duty to stimulate their fellow voters to convert the modest trading post into a legal town. Therefore, on the 10th of August, 1833, twenty-eight of our energetic fathers met in Peter Pruyne & Co.'s drug store on Water street and in spite of one opposing the measure, twenty-seven favored it, and five days after the incorporation every man of them again assembled and of the patriotic number thirteen were so earnest in the good cause that they were willing candidates for office. J. V. Owen, Medore Beaubien, John Miller and Dr. E. S. Kimberly were elected as trustees.

It required four years after the organization of the town and two years succeeding our arrival before Chi-ca-GO, blossomed out as a city.

When the town first dawned upon us there was not a foot of sidewalk in the place nor anything to denote a street excepting the stakes of the surveyor, James Thompson, who was appointed in 1829, by the canal commissioners to survey the section of canal land one mile square bounded by Chicago avenue, Madison, State and Halsted streets. Thompson reported that he only found seven families in the place outside of the garrison, and he naturally concluded it would not require so much land for such a town so he placed the limits between State, Des Plaines, Madison and Kinzie streets. In locating the lots, which the commissioners considered of more importance than indicating where the streets would ultimately be, should they ever be needed—Thompson was so successful in surveying that in the following year on September 27, 1830, 126 of the plated lots, 80 by 180 feet, were sold by the commissioners, bringing from $10.00 to $60.00 each, the average price being $34.00, making in the aggregate $4,284.00. (The sales of 1907 were about $175,000,000 in the city.)

Nor did the closing sale of canal lots add much to the construction of the canal, the establishing of our highways or the improvement of our unfortunate streets even in the canal section. Nor can we today say that we ever felt exalted on account of the condition of our mirey streets and alleys. Our present superintendent of streets, Michael J. Doherty has prepared a table showing that where we had no streets nor alleys in early days, we now have 4,100 miles, of which only about a third are paved, while of the paved streets and alleys only a little over a third are in good repair. He estimates that $700,000.00 or $800,000.00 is needed at once for repairs. "If the Legislature will give Chicago a chance to raise the money the improvement will begin soon," he says in his report. In order that the legislative body might form some opinion as to the volume of the city traffic, the mayor and the street superintendent, one day put men on eleven of the sixty-four city bridges to count the number of vehicles that passed over them between 7:00 o'clock a. m. and 7:00 o'clock p. m. The number was 56,349. Of these 10,916 were street cars, 2,070 automobiles, leaving a total of 43,363 vehicles drawn by horses. Of the latter 28,213 were one horse teams and 15,150 two horse teams, without a single Indian pony and its rider to remind us of the early thirties, when our floating log bridges were used mostly by them.

Before we cross any of the bridges that we have had our attention drawn to we are naturally inclined to view in memory the river with its modest charms as its old time mirrored surface reflected the beautiful trees and bowing flowers that clustered along its banks, while the innocent waters flowed for many years down stream e're the Guthries educated them to flow up. Previous to that event it was the custom of a few useful water men to drive their two wheeled one horse carts into the river and load their reclining hogsheads with long handled wooden pails as they stood on the shafts. They usually obtained their supply for the scattered settlers from the most convenient places in the stream, delivering to their customers, as a rule, for ten cents a barrel. That the treacherous winds roiled the lake water was the usual plea for furnishing from the river.

But those useful watermen, horses and carts no longer meet the requirements of the people. Even the little hydraulic mill at the foot of Lake street, with its twenty-four horse power engine, pumping 1,250 barrels in fifty minutes, and its ten foot cedar logs with three and one-half inch bore that supplanted the faithful watermen in 1840, in spite of our admiration, soon failed to meet the wonderful demand of our rapidly growing city. The constantly increasing consumption of water seems incredible. In the month of August, 1900, more than ten and one-half billions (10,685,709,442) gallons of water were used. It is estimated that the quantity taken in that month would fill a square quarter of a mile in the lake to the depth of one-eighth of a mile. In 1905 there were pumped more than 150 billion (150,254,419,682) gallons yielding a revenue of nearly five millions of dollars ($4,092,559.24.) In 1907, 165 billions of gallons were pumped, with the expenditure of nearly three hundred million pounds of coal (272,218,300.) The collection amounted to more than four and one-half million dollars ($4,510,000.) The Stock Yards alone require nearly one billion gallons a year. And what is of more importance, the city health department reports that "Chicago's water supply is now among the best and purest of any large city on earth."

The canal that we previously referred to has long since retired from business, but its successor, the drainage canal, is inclined to take still another step in advance, as Lyman E. Cooley, one of the country's leading authorities on canal construction and costs, shows with statistics accumulated during a life time of experience with canal work that the deep water way now so earnestly considered would secure to the city of Chicago by the power to be developed eighty millions of dollars, beside the value of the canal from a sanitary point of view and as a commercial proposition.

Those who have lived in Chicago three-fourths of a century are not inclined to doubt any statement of the future progress of our city. And if some of us may have forgotten our glorious canal celebration of July 4, 1836, and do not at this hour feel like saying much about canals, they may wish us briefly to say something about Chicago railroads.

Let us consider the first railroad that ventured in Chicago, the Galena and Chicago Union, (consider the significance of that Union) which was chartered by the State Legislature in 1836, when railroads were hardly known, and about the time when no one could pay five miles fare. But how proud we were on July 10, 1848, when the first strap rail was laid. It is true that we were greatly afraid of railroads and the city council made the terrible thing go outside of the city limits, clear out to Halsted street (now claimed to be the longest street in any city), to protect us from probable catastrophes. It was treated as dangerous as shooting prairie chickens would have been on State and Twelfth street a few years before. How we hurrahed when the engine pioneer showed that it could actually move, and on October 26, 1848, drew two cars seven miles, to Sand Ridge, now Austin.

Our friend, W. H. Stennett has for years been making a profound study of the development of that road, now called the Chicago and Northwestern, and has given us in the perfect history, "Yesterday and Today," 1905, many statistics, from which we learn that the system proper "covers over nine thousand miles of main track; that it has cost $335,000,000.00; that it earns $65,000,000.00 per year; that it furnishes work for nearly 40,000 employés, and promptly and generously pays them in wages about $30,000,000.00 per year, and sustains at least 225,000 souls. A pretty good growth from strap iron, and this is yet more impressive when we consider that with the other railroads entering here "the records of Dec. 31, 1902 proved Chicago to be the greatest railroad center in the world, and the statistics compiled by the Railway Age show that 1,839 trains enter and leave the city every 24 hours, 1,190 passengers and 649 freight.

With the freight is included much material for the stock yards. Bearing in mind that our city claims to be the greatest grain, lumber. and wholesale dry goods market on earth, it may surprise our people engaged in those lines to know that it is maintained by the men doing business in the Stock Yards that they do more and handle a larger volume than all of the others put together. I am not prepared to prove this statement, but $650,000,000.00 a year is a pretty good mark. They also say that they employ 75,000 men. If that be true, allowing that each employé represents a family of four persons, it follows that the number who derive support from that 320 acres is greater than the population of the entire State at the time of my arrival, which in 1835, was 272,427. Their records show that from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 creatures are slaughtered there annually for the collection of which more than 250,000 cars are sent all over the country.

Archibald Clybourn, who supplied the northern garrison and the people of Chicago in early days with meat drove his cattle in on foot. As sheep, hogs and calves could not be driven any distance, the neighboring farmers brought in the few they had in wagons, but the Hoosiers, as the Indiana husbandmen were called, were mostly depended upon for these supplies, as well as for hams, bacon, poultry, eggs, butter, lard, cheese and the fruit, which they brought in their covered wagons many of them being the old time Pennsylvania mountain wagons drawn by eight or ten yoke of oxen, or five or six span of horses. These prairie schooners as they were called, were especially attractive to the boys when loaded with enticing peaches and apples, as was frequently the case.

But Prairie Schooners all have left, they sail our streets no more,
They came with centers downward swayed, curved up both aft and fore.
Their sunburnt owners, lank and tall, no more we see today;
The snap of their loud-cracking whips, forever's passed away.
And on the lake shore, where at night their flickering fires glowed,
And care upon their homely fare was earnestly bestowed,
Where we the frying bacon heard, the coarse corn dodgers saw,
Where we the fragrant coffee smelt and heard the horses paw,
That spot by them deserted is, yet those familiar scenes
By pioneers will cherished be, though scarce then in their teens.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE NORTHERN CROSS RAILROAD.

By George M. McConnel.

It is not possible for me to adequately put in words my deep regret that a removal from my native State of Illinois, determined upon after the receipt of the Historical Society's flattering invitation to put on record my recollections of the Northern Cross Railroad, has so engrossed my time that I have been unable to comply and at almost the last day find myself obliged to merely write down a few of them in disjointed fashion.

Let me first express my most grateful sense of the distinction implied in the invitation and repeat my keen regret that circumstances have prevented me so entirely from doing even my small best to comply.

To any observant visitor from older countries who looks now at the "Central west," the five states north of the Ohio river that Virginia gave to the nation, and their neighbors on the west, it may well seem amazing that they have changed to what they now are from almost unbroken wilderness within little more than a single lifetime. It will seem even more incredible that men now living can remember the time when the wild shriek of the locomotive steam whistle first woke the echoes of Ohio forests or shook the long lances of the grass on Illinois prairies.

Yet such is the fact, and the rate of the world's development within this life time as compared with what it was in the past, rises at once into a conspicuous wonder as one thinks of it. From the far away ages when what we call a "great civilization" arose in the narrow valley of the Euphrates of the Nile or the Tiber, and each in its turn dominated human destiny, the most conspicuous fact has been the steady westward trend of these successive waves of civilization. Poets and historians and philosophers have seen it and spoken of it till "westward the course of empire takes its way" has grown a commonplace for all who read or think.

But not so many have remarked the fact that from the birth of civilization—so far as we know of its birth—in the Euphrates valley, where at least, three or four successive civilizations lie buried under each other in the hundred or two hundred feet of surface earth, the theater over which each successive civilization dominated has steadily expanded in area, and its influences widened in scope. Babylon looms large in ancient history, but the stage on which it played its part was little larger than itself. Rome boasted that it ruled the world, but its "world" was but a principality in comparison with the empire ruled by the English speaking race of today. From the scope of Babylon to that of Rome was a long stride in expansion, but it must be a far longer one from Rome's world-influence to that of the civilization which will govern the historic drama of the next few centuries whose stage will be the world, and its great central scene be bounded by the eastern and western shores of the Pacific ocean.

In the great historic movement this increasing area of stage has been a fact scarcely less conspicuous than its westward drift. From Assyrian to Roman dominance its growth was slow. With Rome's rule of the Mediterranean, ocean navigation by oar and sail entered on accelerating growth. Steam navigation still further contributed to the rate of growth, but not until land transportation by steam did man acquire the real power to rule the world. He held, indeed, the sea coasts and the river shores, but until the advent of the railroad the vast interior empires and granaries of the continents as we know them, were impossible.

The railway has been by far the largest single factor in the tremendous acceleration and expansion of the civilization of the past century and if we may argue from the past to the future the civilization whose stage center will be the Pacific, will be greater than was that of the Mediterranean by as much as the huge western ocean is greater than the little sea, land locked between Europe and Africa.

In the light of these reflections the historic development of the railway becomes of exceeding interest and of as great significance in the development of any particular region. No doubt wooden tramways, tracks of rails, of one kind or another, were in some kind of use for moving certain articles in many parts of the world, long before the railway—distinctively so called—was born, but the crucial pang in the evolution of the railway, as it has come to be known, was the application of steam power. George Stephenson brought this about when he put in operation the Hetton coal railway in 1822 and crowned that achievement by opening for business the Stockton and Darlington Passenger Railway less than three years later. Less than a year later than this General Van Rensselaer and others of New York obtained authority from that state to build the Mohawk and Hudson Railway running from Albany to Schenectady in New York on practically the same line now occupied by part of the New York Central line. And this was opened for business in 1831, only six years after the birth in England, much of which time was taken up in solving new problems not known in England.

Illinois had been a State only since 1818, was territorially a very considerable empire, over the southern one-third or one-half of which was scattered a population scarcely numerous enough to make a tenth rate city of today. Yet even then its people were agitating questions of a canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois river and a few prophetic souls were hinting at railways though with little conception of that whereof they hinted. In a certain sense it was not a wilderness or frontier population, but one nearly all of whose members had been born in far older states, and were mentally in close touch with the people of the Atlantic states from Boston to Florida and along the gulf beyond to New Orleans. And among all these, in Massachusetts, in New York, in Maryland, in South Carolina and in Louisiana, there were projects of railways of one kind or another very soon after Stephenson's English achievement.

The Illinois people were too weak financially to do more than talk until in February, 1837, the state as such took up the work on its own credit and struck out a great system of "internal improvements," including the building of eight distinct lines of railway; *first,* the Central from Cairo to Galena; *second,* a branch of same from Hillsboro eastward to the Indiana state line; *third,* the Southern Cross road from Alton to Mt. Carmel; *fourth,* the Northern Cross road from Quincy, via Jacksonville, Springfield and Decatur, to the Indiana state line nearly due west from Indianapolis; *fifth,* from Peoria to Warsaw; *sixth,* from Alton eastward to intersect the Central, though there seems now some doubt whether this was not included in the Mt. Carmel-Alton project; *seventh,* from Belleville to intersect the Southern Cross, and *eighth,* from Bloomington to Mackinaw with branches to Peoria and to Pekin, all of which it was estimated would cost nearly ten million dollars.

While the bill was pending, Senator Vance of Vermilion county, one of the strong opponents of the whole scheme down to that time, suddenly declared, for some unknown reason, that if the friends of the bill would insert a provision that the Northern Cross road should be built first of all, he would support the bill and this was accordingly done, though the result showed that the bill would have passed without his vote.

It seems absurd, now, that a road from Quincy eastward through Springfield should be called the Northern Cross, but the fact that it was so named is clear proof of where the vast preponderance of the population of the State then lay. Except for the little lead mining city of Galena, the trading post at Peoria and a few other isolated communities, the great mass of the State's people then dwelt south of the Springfield line of latitude.

Early in March, 1837, the Legislature elected a "board of public works," one member from each judicial district, to carry out this scheme, relatively more vast than it would now be for the present State to undertake the construction of three or four Panama canals. The member chosen by the Legislature from the Jacksonville district was Murray McConnel, a lawyer, then in the prime of life, full of fire and energy, active and tireless. He took instant action and within two months of his election had employed James M. Bucklin as chief engineer, drew from near his old boyhood home in New York near the Pennsylvania line, two or three of his own relations who had some knowledge of what had been done in New York, and within another two months had completed the survey and location of the whole fifty-five miles from Meredosia to Springfield and had closed contracts for its construction.

Within a year after the survey was begun, and it is to be remembered that the builders had no advantage of any kind of connection with or access to any railroad already built, and so everything had to be, so to speak, "hand made," within a year, or on May 9, 1838, the first rail was laid and early in November of the same year "the first locomotive that ever turned a wheel in the Mississippi valley" was put in operation. The tremendous difficulties and discouragements overcome by these pioneers in Illinois railway building can hardly be imagined by those who know only the railway building of today. They not only had no proper tools for such work but most of them knew only theoretically and by hearsay as it were, of what the work they had undertaken was.

Only a few weeks after construction began in 1837, the great financial panic of that year broke out and thence forth the work was urged against an increasing sea of difficulties that might have appalled the managers had they better known the real proportions of their task. So great were they that though the western half of the fifty-five miles, or nearly half, was in active operation early in 1839, the road was not completed to Springfield till in May, 1842.

In the enthusiasm of May, 1837, Commissioner McConnel had ordered iron, cars, a locomotive and other needed equipment, through the fund commissioners appointed by the State to raise money for the work, and reported that they had been bought agreeably to his requisition, but it is one of the strange facts of that time of delirium, beginning in enthusiasm and ending in financial panic and crushing debt, the locomotive bought by the fund commissioners and shipped from New York by sea to New Orleans, thence to come to St. Louis and thence by Illinois river boat to Meredosia, was never heard of more. Somehow or other, how, probably nobody now can ever know, it was "lost in its passage" as one of the fund commissioners afterwards reported to the Legislature. It is another curious fact that though this locomotive was so mysteriously lost in transit, Commissioner McConnel of the board of works *received a locomotive* which was said to have been bought by the fund commissioners for the Bloomington-Mackinaw road, though that road did not then, and probably never did, have any use for a locomotive. And this alleged B. & M. locomotive was rolled from a steamboat at Meredosia on to the Northern Cross tracks and set to work.

Unless greatly misled by memory it is a mistake, however, to say, as some Illinois historians have said, that this old railroad never had but this one locomotive. Whether the one reported to have been "lost in transit" afterwards "turned up" in some way, or if another was bought, recollection now is that during part of 1839, 1840 and two or three years more, there were two locomotives used more or less regularly, and this appears to be made quite certain from two facts, neither of which, it would seem, memory could err about. These locomotives, whether one or two, were many hundreds of miles away from any other railways and equally distant from any repair shops. As they felt the wear and tear of use little repairing could be done on them save such as might be worked out in any ordinary country blacksmith's shop. Accordingly by 1844, or thereabouts, they had become incapable of more than crawling about. They were put out of use, the cattle guards at the different farm lines were floored so that mules could travel on the track, and for two or three years the flat cars—I incline to think but very few, if any, box cars—were used for carrying freight from Meredosia to Springfield and intermediate points, drawn by three or four mules driven tandem.

When so put out of use, one locomotive was turned over by the State to James M. Semple, then one of the U. S. Senators from Illinois, to experiment with in carrying out a dream he indulged of constructing a huge prairie steam wagon, with long drums faced with planks for driving wheels, with which he planned to carry passengers over the then unoccupied prairies of the State, so little did even so able a man as he, dream of the short time it would be before those prairies would be practically filled with occupied farms.

This was turned over to him near Berlin in the western edge of Sangamon county, where after many strange experiences by him, some of them amusing, some of them pathetic and all of them costly and disastrous, it was abandoned by him within a few yards of the railway track, and gradually went to pieces under the wear of weather and the appropriation of those who wanted a bit of metal or of wood which they could pick out of the wreck. I often saw its dwindling carcase lying there for some years after.

But memory says there was another locomotive, which went to Mr. Ridgely of Springfield, when in 1847, he bought from the State at public auction the road and all its belongings. This, it is remembered, was rebuilt in the Springfield shops, after the re-organization effected by Mr. Ridgely, under the careful direction of Mr. Tilton, who for some years managed the rehabilitated road, was named the "Phœnix," a queer looking machine even for fifty and more years ago, and was used for doing a variety of light work through several years.

The road was built by laying parallel lines of mud sills, eight or ten inches square, under where the rails would come, save where the earth bottom was judged firm enough to lay cross ties much as is now done, only much further apart than now. On these ties were laid "stringers" of oak probably 4x6, or 4x8 inches, notched and pinned together and on these were spiked flat strap iron rails, some 2½ inches wide, five-eighths of an inch thick and probably twelve or fifteen feet long, with ends mitred, or slanted, so as to take the weight of a wheel on each rail before it had quite left the other. The frequent result may be easily imagined. These ends gradually curled up as the wheels rolled over them, till the points, rising higher than the wheel center, became what were called "snake heads," were under-run by the wheels and shot up through the car and sometimes through an unfortunate passenger or employé.

The only passenger coaches the road possessed were about of the size and "build" of the big omnibuses of the past generation. The seats ran along each side, like those of the omnibus, and the coaches were equally destitute of any and every other appliance for the comfort or convience of the traveler, other than to sit down and "hang on"—if he could. The speed of the trains was very low, as speed is now measured, but it was, relatively to that to which that generation was accustomed, nearly as high as we now habitually know, the roadway was very uneven, there were no straps to hang to and the lurching about of passengers unfortunate enough to be obliged to stand, their stumbling over and trampling upon the feet of the seated travelers, into whose surprised embraces they not infrequently stumbled and sprawled, were often vastly amusing to onlookers howsoever exasperating to the participants. It was often equally disagreeable when passengers were few. There were no divisions of any kind in the seats. Along each wall of the coach ran a smooth stretch of bench like seat and a sudden lurch of the coach would often slide a sitter half the length of the coach and land him, or her, with a gruesome bump in the middle of the floor.

These were specimen inconveniences for travelers, while the want of some of the simplest of the railway devices of the past twenty years brought serious hardships and hazards to the employés. Cars were coupled only with the long link and pin, operated by hand and resulting in any train of a number of cars suddenly stretching or shrinking in length with sudden changes of speed as much as a score or more of feet, with sudden jars and hazards unknown on modern trains. There was no means then known for warming the water in the tank of the locomotive tender and the only known means of conveying it from the tank to the boiler was by ordinary leathern hose swinging freely enough between the two to assure immunity from breaking in any one of these sudden elongations of the train. Often a stop of two or three minutes at any station exposed to the bitter cold blasts of winter would suffice to freeze the water in these hose, tying up the train for from a few minutes to several hours, destitute of any means of informing anybody of the cause and probable duration of the delay. A few minutes of delay in pushing through a snow-drift far from any station would bring the same frozen hose, far from even the useless but sympathetic knowledge of the denizens of a bit of prairie station.

Then it became necessary for the train crew to take wood from the locomotive tender—the art of burning coal in a locomotive furnace had not then been discovered—and carefully build a fire on the ground between the rails and under the hose where it passed in festoons from tank to boiler, watching it like a hawk lest it scorch the leather, in which case the hose would crack and burst and the locomotive be left hopelessly "dead," till drawn away by some force other than its own.

What this task must be for two or three men crouched in the narrow space under a locomotive cab, with a maniac-like northwest wind howling like a legion of devils across the open prairie, driving clouds of stinging snow before it, may be partly guessed by those who have seen a prairie blizzard but can never be fairly appreciated save by him who has taken part in the torturing task.

The facilities for supplying locomotives with fuel and water were very meagre, and when the train stopped at any "wooding" station, the whole train crew and not infrequently some of the passengers, joined in throwing the sawed wood into the great box of the tender, sometimes even having to add to the labors of the sawyers to fill the needed quantity. In many cases some slight accident has caused a stop at some point remote from the scanty water stations, and lines of disgusted passengers trudged back and forth for hours between the impotent train and the nearest creek or farm well, often a distance of miles, each with one or two pails of some kind, carrying water to put into the tank.

These are but a few of the embarrassments of railroading in those days. There were scores of others, for the signal code, the air brake, the automatic coupler, the toilet devices of today, the sleeping car, the dining car, steam heated cars, all lights save candles alone, the use of the telegraph in operating trains, these and many another commonplace of today, were as yet undreamed of. I speak only of such as I saw something of in my boyhood.

The observer of today, if he stops to think, will feel a new respect for the general sagacity of the men who projected the eight lines of road before spoken of. Little of the vast area covered was much beyond the wilderness stage, most of it not at all beyond. Yet the majority of the lines they laid down are now literally or substantially parts of more or less important railway routes. The main line of the Wabash railway of today, pushed southwestward from the head of Lake Erie, intersects the line of the old Northern Cross about at Decatur, and follows it almost foot by foot westward to the Mississippi.

The sound judgment of those green railway builders of 1837 is curiously witnessed by the fact that the line they surveyed and located from Meredosia to Springfield is followed in detail to this day by the great railway before mentioned.

One incident I recall witnesses the human quality of that day not a whit different from that of our day. As surveyed by Engineer Bucklin under the official supervision of Commissioner McConnel, the railway line passed along the northern verge of the village of Jacksonville, precisely where the line of the Wabash now passes. But certain of Commissioner McConnel's townsmen insisted that this was because McConnel "owned property on that side of town," and they were highly indignant that he was thus benefiting himself. "The whole town," they said, "should be benefited by locating the road right through the middle of town, along State street and through the public square!"

"Why! bless you," said McConnel, though he may not have used the word "bless," but its next door neighbor on the theory that "extremes meet,"—"the engineers did not know I owned any property when they located the line. You can have it on State street if you wish and see how you like it."

And so, to the disgust of the engineers two long transverse curves were interjected into an otherwise straight road, turning it into West State street over the ground where the high school now stands, and sending along the chief street and through the central square of the town, the locomotives belching their smoke in the aristocratic front windows of Col. John J. Hardin as the road left State street on the eastern verge of town and went back again to the surveyed line.

The indignant citizens who thought they should share in a "graft" that existed only in their imaginations, were glad enough to get the track back again on the survey ten years later after the sale to Ridgely, but none of them ever made public acknowledgement that the Commissioner and the engineers were in the right from the first.

Once more let me remark that the fact that along these fifty-five miles of road the line of today follows foot by foot the survey of seventy years ago, is no small testimony to the sagacity, the foresight, the sincerity, the intelligence of the men who established these lines when there was yet no historic past in railway building by which they could guide their footsteps. They broke a way for civilization in the Mississippi valley, and a way whose fashion was yet wholly new to mankind.

FAMOUS MEN I HAVE KNOWN IN THE MILITARY TRACT.

By William T. Davidson.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—Permit a personal explanation of my relation to this subject. I was taken to Lewistown by my family when I was eighteen months old, in 1838. My father, as a minor official, was a good deal about the court house in those days during the circuit court terms. As a frail little chap I was much with him during court and from my fifth year was permitted very often to stand or sit near the presiding judge, the first of whom was Judge Stephen A. Douglas. From childhood I was thrilled by oratory rather than music or painting; so I ever haunted the court house to hear the mighty men of the Illinois bar who traveled the circuit sixty to seventy years ago. In 1844 my older brother, the late James M. Davidson, of the Carthage Republican, became a publisher and an editor, and thus I came in touch with the types, and ink, and exchanges, and so conversant with the shop talk relating to politicians and the prominant Whigs and Democrats of that time. In 1852 I belonged to a quartette of singers who attended all the democratic rallies in our section of the military tract for Franklin Pierce. The following April I entered a printing office as "devil" and was helping to "edit" the paper the next week. In 1855 I became associated with the Fulton Democrat at Lewistown. Three years later I became its sole editor and proprietor, as I am today.

Thus from childhood I have been in close touch with the prominent men of Illinois, particularly those of the military tract, a few of whom I shall reverently, lovingly and briefly allude to in this paper.

Edward Dickinson Baker (the famed "Silver-tongued Ned Baker"). First of all I remember him as the most dashing and brilliant young orator who ever appeared in our court house. He was born in London, England, in 1811, and early in the thirties was reading law and entering upon its practice in this city of Springfield. Here in 1837 he was elected to the Legislature, in 1840 to the State Senate, in 1844 to Congress. During these later years he was following Douglas and Lincoln about the court circuits, appearing in Lewistown in many court terms up to the Mexican war, when he raised a regiment in this Springfield country and in the military tract. From my sixth or seventh year I vividly recall that splendid specimen of young manhood as he appeared in the old court house, always crowded by the people of the county to meet their favorite party leaders and to feast upon their oratory. But Ned Baker was in a class by himself. If he only spoke for five minutes to the court on some point of law, the crowded court room was all attention. But if in a murder case he spoke for hours, his audience was thrilled to the verge of collapse. Two-thirds of a century has passed, but I can see that straight, lithe, graceful, blond youth as he swayed his audience, jurors, the bar and even the judge upon the bench, with the music of his voice, his word pictures, his irresistable logic and illustrations, and the unconscious, spontaneous, prefervid oratory that come as fresh to me as when a child, like the musk of the ancient queen that fills her apartments an age since she is dead. Glorious Ned Baker, who led our Illinois troops from victory to victory in Mexico, and, while an United States Senator from Oregon, was shot dead at Balls Bluff, in 1861, while leading a brigade in that heroic battle for the Union.

James Shields, the distinguished orator and soldier, was often in our town before and after the Mexican war in which he won, with Marshal Ney, the soubrequet of "Bravest of the brave." He was elected United States Senator as a Democrat from three different states—Oregon, Minnesota and Missouri, an honor achieved by no other American citizen. He was also a conspicuous and brilliant general in our Civil war and held many distinguished posts of honor in our civil service. I recall as if it were yesterday his strong, fine, impressive Irish face and oratory as he spoke in our old court house of the achievements of the Illinois soldiers in the Mexican war.

Peter Cartwright was often a guest at my father's home, both in Petersburg and Lewistown, ever the Methodist preacher's hotel. In 1856 the Illinois Methodist Conference was held in our village. I had been absent some weeks, but suddenly went home on a steamer from Peoria to Liverpool, and walked thence on a dark night ten miles to my home in Lewistown. I thought I would give my people the surprise of their lives by slipping into our always unlocked home, going to my room, and having them find me in my own bed next morning. All went well in the midnight darkness as I entered the house and was softly walking to my bedroom. But I struck a heavy satchel lying on the floor and down I went like a hod full of brick.

"What in God's name has broken loose?" howled the hoarsest and most terrifying voice I had ever heard, and from my bedroom!"

"Oh Peter," replied a gentle, pleading voice, "It's only someone moving about the house."

"Say it's a herd of Texas steers on a stampede, and I'll believe you!" snorted the other.

I knew I was having a nightmare or had broken into the wrong house, and would be shot for a burglar. I got to my feet and made a bolt in the direction of the door as best I could guess it off in my terror and the pitch darkness. Again I sprawled over the obstruction with a bigger bang than before. There was an alarming creaking of the corded bedstead—the monster was tumbling out with a louder roar: "I'll see! It's Satan unchained. Whoof!"

In the nick of time my mother in her nightrobe opened the door with a lighted candle in her hand. I was cowering in a dark corner, she could not see me. But in that sweetest mortal voice I ever heard, she said:

"It's all right, Uncle Peter, it's only my boy come home."

"Your boy! Sarah Ann, its nothing but a mustang pony hitched to a harrow cavorting around here!"

Peter Cartwright and dear old presiding elder Henry Summers, the latter as sweet and gentle as a woman, the former a holy cyclone in pantaloons, both occupying my room and bed. I knew Uncle Peter fifty-two years ago as a stout, heavily-built man with a head as round as a base ball. From all appearances, he could wear a derby hat put on any side to the front and it would fit him perfectly. He then wore a rather rusty and close-fitting black suit. He was in an eternal roar of debate through the conference, stamping up and down the aisle and swinging his arms like flails at threshing. Morning, noon and night, mother was sewing up the rips in the back, shoulders and elbows of Uncle Peter's coat. And Peter Cartwright was the greatest and most successful pioneer minister in the annals of Illinois.

Hezekiah M. Wead was one of the strongest earlier sledge-hammer lawyers of our Fulton county bar, and very able and effective as a Democratic speaker. In the early fifties he was elected circuit judge and was one of the ablest and most useful men of that time. He afterwards occupied a high place in the Peoria bar and in that city died, revered by the bar and judiciary.

William Kellogg located in Canton, also in the early forties, and as a Whig, and a very brilliant and polished orator, became Judge Wead's friendly but ever-active opponent politically and as an attorney. Mr. Kellogg followed Judge Wead as circuit judge in the Fulton circuit court, retiring to enter Congress in 1857 where he served three terms, closing his brilliant and distinguished congressional career in 1863, when he followed his earlier competitor to Peoria where he died full of honors and midst the lamentations of all who knew him. He was one of the handsomest men I ever knew, and among the most forceful, brilliant, and effective orators. There is one event in Judge Kellogg's public life that is known to few. He was Abraham Lincoln's closest friend and adviser from the birth of the Republican party until Judge Kellogg quit Congress. They were in frequent correspondence during the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858, and during the presidential campaign of 1860, and many of Mr. Lincoln's letters to him are still preserved by one of Judge Kellogg's daughters. It will be recalled that after Mr. Lincoln's election and previous to his inauguration, many plans of compromise were submitted to Congress to heal the breach between the sections of the Union, each in its turn to meet ignominious defeat. Among these were a very able set of resolutions presented by Judge Kellogg and for which he made one of the very great speeches of that Congress, ever memorable for the mighty forensic debates that characterized both houses. At the close of Judge Kellogg's speech, General John A. McClernand, then Democratic member for your Springfield district, arose and complimented his Republican colleague from Illinois upon the able, just and patriotic tenor of his resolutions, inferring that, because of Judge Kellogg's close personal relations with the president elect the compromise resolutions certainly were "inspired" and therefore were of transcendant importance as voicing the views and wishes of the coming administration. Judge Kellogg courteously interrupted General McClernand, (as the Congressional record shows) with the declaration that he (Kellogg) was absolutely alone in the preparation of that plan of compromise—was alone responsible for its presentation to Congress. And yet I have the highest authority for the statement that this plan of compromise was suggested by Mr. Lincoln in all its terms.

Establishing this interesting fact, the following autograph letter is still in the possession of one of Judge Kellogg's daughters:

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., December 11, 1860.

"*Hon. William Kellogg:*

MY DEAR SIR—Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the *extension* of slavery. The instant you do, they have us under again; all our labor is lost, and sooner or later must be done over. Douglas is said to be again trying to swing (or ring) in his 'Pop Sov.' Have none of it. The tug has to come and better now than later.

"You know I think the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution ought to be enforced—to put it in the mildest form, ought not to be resisted. In haste,

"Yours as ever,

"A. LINCOLN."

The Kellogg plan of compromise, like all other suggestions to that end, was howled down by the radicals in Congress with fierce denunciations of their author. Mr. Lincoln promptly notified Judge Kellogg that he would assume responsibility for this plan of compromise and face the radicals with the fact at any cost. But the equally great-souled Kellogg assumed the sole responsibility in his reply to General McClernand—sacrificed himself—went to the stake—gave up forever his political life—rather than permit the great President-elect to become the target of popular denunciation and abuse that might have disrupted the Republican party and assured the success of secession and the downfall of the Republic.

Colonel Lewis W. Ross was the son of Ossian M. Ross who came from New York to the site of Lewistown in 1821, who laid out and organized Fulton county and Lewistown as its county seat in 1823, the town being named Lewistown for the son. Colonel Ross was educated at Jacksonville College and became one of our earliest and most distinguished attorneys and Democratic politicians. He was a popular officer in the Mexican war, was a member of the Legislature several times, was one of the distinguished and broad-minded members of our last State constitutional convention, and served two terms in Congress during the Civil war with great honor to his constitutents and the State of Illinois. He was a fine lawyer, an impassioned orator and one of the greatest and most highly honored men of the military tract.

General Leonard F. Ross, a younger brother of Lewis W., was born in Lewistown in 1823 and was a brilliant and intrepid commander both in the Mexican and Civil wars. He preferred the vocation of the farmer and raiser of fine stock to politics or the legal profession. A more widely-known or more highly-honored or more useful citizen never was produced in the Military Tract.

William C. Goudy came to Lewistown in the forties, a penniless school teacher from the east, and here he studied law under Judge Wead, ultimately locating in Chicago where he became the ablest lawyer in that city and of national renown. He was peculiar as a cold and unimpassioned speaker and was wholly lacking in the power to win warm friends and admirers, and could not succeed as a politician.

William Pitt Kellogg came to Canton, perhaps in 1856, from the east, and formed a law partnership with Judge William Kellogg, to whom I have alluded. There was only a remote relationship between the two. "Pitt," as he was familiarly known, was a very handsome and elegantly-dressed young man. He probably was a fair office lawyer, but he despised the court room and the drudgery of trying cases. In 1858-60 he would regularly drive to Lewistown during circuit court terms, but during the sessions spent his time in the Fulton Democrat office or in his room at the hotel. He had a singular fondness, although himself a radical Republican, for telling the young editor of the Democrat all the secret plottings of the Canton Republican leaders and editors—startling exposures that greatly mystified and annoyed the victims of Pitt's jokes, for the Democrat gave plenty of space to the stories. Pitt in all such ways seemed to be indifferent and negligent of every duty as an attorney or politician. But in 1860 he became a Lincoln elector for our district and held a joint debate with the distinguished S. Corning Judd, the Douglas elector, in which Mr. Kellogg surprised all who knew him by the logic, wit and power of his speeches. He was, therefore, made governor of the territory of Nebraska, and, later on, reconstruction governor of, and then United States Senator from Louisiana. In the meantime he became a millionaire and is now living in Washington City with his boyhood wife, a noble Canton girl of fifty years ago. Ex-Senator William Pitt Kellogg is one of the few living delegates to the famous Bloomington Convention of 1856 and in which Mr. Lincoln delivered the celebrated "Lost Speech."

I have also a vivid recollection of the scholarly lawyer and statesman, O. H. Browning of Quincy; of that grand pioneer lawyer of Knoxville, Julius Manning, revered by all pioneers who knew him; the erratic and brilliant William O'Brien of Peoria, who was a strong and popular attorney at our court terms—each of them worthy of larger mention.

Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll was a radical Democrat up to the opening of the war in 1861, having in 1860 been Judge Kellogg's unsuccessful opponent for his seat in Congress. They held joint debates through the district, and Judge Kellogg more than held his own with the brilliant and audacious Bob, who never had his superior on the platform of this or any land. Colonel Ingersoll's Democratic speeches were the fiercest and most vicious ever heard on the stump of Illinois. But after his conversion to Republicanism, Bob didn't do anything else for the rest of his brilliant and remarkable career except to abuse God and the Democratic party. Yet my friend Colonel Ingersoll was one of the gentlest and truest of friends, with a heart as sweet and loving as a woman's.

Judge Chauncey L. Higbee of Pittsfield from early in the Civil war and for nearly a score of years later presided on the circuit bench in the old fifth judicial district covering the lower part of the Military Tract, including Fulton county. He was a very able Democrat of the old, conservative school and a very able speaker. But after he became judge he never permitted himself to take a part in politics, except as he was nominated for judge in Democratic conventions. After his first term the Republicans declined to nominate a candidate against him. Judge Higbee was the ablest and most universally adored judge we have ever had in western Illinois. No man was more universally respected in this section by men of all parties, even in that time of very bitter political alignments. When Higbee decided a case, with very rare exceptions it was accepted by all sides as law and justice. Very seldom was there an appeal from his decisions—more rarely was he reversed. No mortal had more devoted friends, but he did not know them on the bench. He was not only the just judge, but he was almost infallible in his decisions. He was very peculiar in having no fear of the Supreme Court, no dread of reversals. Hence he was ever prompt in his decisions. He could handle more court business in a week than any other judge I have known could handle in twice the time. He has been dead many years, but no man is remembered in the Military Tract with sincerer affection than Judge Chauncey L. Higbee.

These men, and many others of earlier days in the Military Tract quite worthy of honored mention in this paper, were in the main peculiar and honored friends of this boy editor who now has no words at his command to paint them in the glowing colors they deserve.

But in closing I must not fail to speak of a few of our old-time brilliant and brave editors of the Military Tract who were to me as older and beloved brothers.

S. S. Brooks, the boyhood editorial friend of Douglas in Jacksonville in the early thirties and father to Austin Brooks, sixty years ago the famous editor of the Quincy Herald, came to Lewistown in 1849 and here started the Fulton County Ledger which, in 1853, was moved to Canton and is still edited there by my friend, Hon. S. Y. Thornton, who has had the sole control of it for over fifty years.

Austin Brooks was one of the great editors of the Military Tract, fifty to sixty years ago. His Quincy Herald became famous for its warlike and impetuous attacks upon the Whigs, and later the Republican politicians and editors of that time. Many were the physical combats that Austin had and stormy was his editorial career, but he came out victorious in every battle. In 1860 he was a member of the Illinois Senate, but resigned his seat in a sudden passion over some partisan question and returned home to make the Quincy Herald a trifle hotter than before. As I remember at this distant day, the remarkable thing happened to my friend Austin that he was converted in a Methodist revival and thereupon lost his grip as a Democratic editor.

Among the other great editors of the Military Tract of that time, all of them gone to their rest, were:

George W. Scripps, of the Rushville Citizen.

J. Merrick Bush, of the Pike County Democrat.

Zachariah Beatty, of the Knoxville (later Galesburg) Republican.

George W. Raney, who started Peoria's first daily paper, The Herald, in 1853.

Mr. Prickett, of the Peoria Republican.

Enoch Emery, of the Peoria Transcript.

The elder Patterson, of the Oquawka Spectator.

Joseph Sharpe, of the Carthage Gazette.

James M. Davidson, of the Lewistown Gazette in 1844, the Fulton County Democrat in 1855, and later of the Carthage Republican.

Charles H. Whitaker, of the Macomb Eagle.

Benjamin Hampton of the Macomb By-Stander,

And other very able editors who profoundly impressed upon their constituents their noble citizenship, learning and unspotted patriotism. These men were Whigs (afterwards Republicans) and Democrats, according to their varying temperament and environments, each as firm in his political faith as the crusader in his religious faith. No one of them had a collegiate education; few of them more than a meagre acquaintance with the three R's of the "pay" country school. But each of them had his printing office equipment, and, to any bright and receptive mind, that is practically a liberal education. That was Horace Greeley's only equipment, and he was America's very greatest editor. Very seriously I affirm that the editors named, and scores more of them in the Military Tract and in Illinois, knew all of the politics of their time that Lincoln, Douglas, Seward, Trumbull, Toombs, Palmer or Alexander Stephens knew. They printed the speeches of these statesmen in full. They knew by heart the famous arguments and epigrams of each. The yellow old files of their papers today are the wonder of the average provincial editor of this time with his lazy man's patent sheets and boiler plates. Local news! a man had to commit murder, steal a horse or break his leg to get his name into the paper. Painting barns, mending chicken-coops, "Sundaying" in some neighboring hamlet—never a line of it. But the editorial page was ever so bright and virile as to even challenge debate with the biggest papers in New York and all the cities; and they wonderfully molded or confirmed public sentiment among the pioneers as did no other power in the land. Aside from their political features, the pages reserved for reprint selections blossomed weekly like gardens in June with the classical prose and poetry of that golden age when Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, George D. Prentice, "Fanny Fern" and N. P. Willis were in their prime. Family obligations and untoward environments kept these men away from the great cities and great opportunities that gave the Greeleys, Bennetts, Raymonds, Danas, Medills, Storeys and Wattersons their pre-eminence; but my brother provincial editors did their part well in developing Illinois from the wilderness of one hundred years ago into the imperial commonwealth of today that challenges the wonder and admiration of every sister state.

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES.

The fact that you are to have special papers respectively on Lincoln and Douglas, makes it superfluous for me to allude to them, although I was in close touch with Douglas, particularly, from 1854 until his death, and also knew Mr. Lincoln only a little less familiarly. But since above paper was written, the following item relating to this honored Historical Society has come to my notice:

"A special volume will be issued by the library commemorating the semi-centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. This will consist of the debates themselves, of historical material explanatory of the times, of the two great contestants, and of reprints of interesting documents relating to the debates and the times, photographs and maps illustrative of the subject matter. The book will be handsomely printed and bound, and a very large edition will be printed. The book will be edited by Dr. Edwin Erle Sparks, and the editor hopes to have it ready for distribution in a very short time."

I fear that our honored Illinoisan, former Vice President Stevenson, who addresses this society tomorrow night on Douglas, may not be aware of the important fact I beg permission to lay before you. I have little doubt that it will be a new and valuable addition to the side-lights of that great debate. In the files of my humble paper, the Fulton County Democrat, in its issue of June 23, 1860, I find this letter from Senator Douglas:

(From The Fulton Democrat of June 23, 1860.)

THE DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN DEBATES.

Letter from Mr. Douglas.

The Ohio Statesman, printed at Columbus, Ohio, has published the following important letter addressed by Mr. Douglas to the publishers of the "Douglas and Lincoln Debates:"

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1860.

GENTLEMEN—I have received by the express one dozen copies of your publication of the joint debates between Mr. Lincoln and myself in 1858, sent by the order of Mr. Cox, who will pay you the amount of your bill. I feel it my duty to protest against the unfairness of this publication, and especially against the alterations and mutilations in the reports as published in the Chicago Times, which, although intended to be fair and just, were necessarily imperfect, and in some respects erroneous.

The speeches were all delivered in the open air, to immense crowds of people, and in some instances in stormy and boisterous weather, when it was impossible for the reporters to hear distinctly and report literally. The reports of my speeches were not submitted to me or any friend of mine for inspection or corroboration before publication; nor did I have the opportunity of reading more than one or two of them afterwards, until the election was over, and all interest in the subject had passed away.

In short, I regard your publication as partial and unfair, and designed to do me injustice, by placing me in a false position. I saw in the preface to the first edition of your publication, which is omitted in the copy sent to me, a correspondence between Mr. Lincoln and the Ohio Republican committee, from which it appears that Mr. Lincoln furnished his speeches and mine for publication—his in the revised and corrected form, and mine as they came from the hand of the reporter, without revision. Being thus notified that his speeches had been revised and corrected, this fact ought to have reminded you that common fairness and justice required that I should have an opportunity of revising and correcting mine. But to deny me that privilege, and then to change and mutilate the reports as they appeared in the newspapers from which they were taken, is an act of injustice against which I must be permitted to enter my protest. In order that the injustice which you have done me may be in some degree diminished, I respectfully request that this letter, together with the correspondence between Mr. Lincoln and the committee, which led to the publication, may be inserted as a preface to all future editions of these debates.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully your obedient servant,

S. A. Douglas.

Messrs. Follet, Foster & Co., Columbus, Ohio.

I call your attention to these facts: The "Debates" were printed as a partisan campaign document; first, to aid in Mr. Lincoln's nomination for the presidency, and then to aid in his election over Senator Douglas. It was printed in vast numbers in cheap and crude pamphlet form for free circulation by an obscure job printing firm in Columbus, Ohio, weeks or months before Mr. Lincoln was nominated at Chicago, as the date of above letter shows. It could not have been expected in the heated partisan campaign of 1860, nor even in any milder campaign of recent years, that a Republican or Democratic campaign committee would go out of its way to help, or even do justice to an opponent. As "campaign literature," if honestly labeled, I would not object to the only text available of those great debates. But to embalm the Columbus version of them as history, the soul of fair play and truth must revolt against it.

I would not take one star from the deathless diadem of Abraham Lincoln. His was the gentlest, sweetest, truest soul the earth has known since Christ. His fame fills all civilized lands and grows brighter with the fleeting years.

I am only courteously asking this great and honored Illinois Historical Society to grant to the dead Douglas the fair play and justice he implored in vain forty-eight years ago; that your beautiful edition of the "Lincoln-Douglas Debates" shall bear as a preface the above courtly letter from one of Illinois' noblest sons and one of the nation's very greatest statesmen and patriots.

[For further information on this topic, see Illinois Historical Collections III. (The Lincoln-Douglas Debates).—Ed.]

ELIAS KENT KANE.

[United States Senator from Illinois, and Author of its First Constitution.]

By Henry Barrett Chamberlin.

In old Kaskaskia, the first capital, and the abiding place of seven state makers whose names have been given to as many counties, rest the mortal remains of him whose influence upon the commonwealth was most pronounced. A graduate of Yale, he brought culture to a pioneer community. An able lawyer, he played a most prominent part in its formative political movements and gave dignity to the bench as judge of the territorial circuit court. As a member of the first constitutional convention, he is credited with the authorship of the basic law and was influential in dictating the thought and the policy of Illinois as a territory and for many years after it had reached statehood. As first Secretary of State, he left his impress upon the administration of Governor Bond to the advantage of the people. As a member of the upper house of the General Assembly, he was a factor in determining legislation. As a Senator of the United States, his concise, accurate quality of mind commanded respect and attention from a body including such men as Benton of Missouri, Randolph of Virginia, Hayne of South Carolina, Johnson of Kentucky, Cobb of Georgia, Calhoun of South Carolina and Webster of Massachusetts. He was associated with and held the respect of John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, Roger B. Taney, Levi Woodbury, John H. Eaton, Amos Kendall, B. F. Butler and Lewis Cass. He was one of the really great representative men of his time, and the prestige of Illinois was enhanced because of his service to her people.

Elias Kent Kane, United States Senator from Illinois, was the youngest son of Captain John Kane, in his youth, an Irish sailor, afterwards a successful and wealthy merchant until his business was ruined by the war of 1812. The family connections were of the best, including such well known personages of the Empire state as the great Chancellor James Kent, whose name the senator bore, the Van Rensselaers, the Morrises and the Yateses. Elisha Kent Kane, the famous Arctic explorer, was a cousin, though of a younger generation, his father having been a college mate of the senator. The exact date of Elias Kent Kane's birth is still a matter of dispute, the latest authority upon that subject, George W. Smith, giving it as 1794. In an address before the Illinois State Bar Association, January 24, 1895, Mr. Smith quoted a letter written by a cousin of Senator Kane dated at Yale College, April 28, 1814, also another letter dated at Albany, September 20, 1814, from the senator's father and addressed to him at Kaskaskia, Tennessee, in support of his contention that the birth year of the senator was 1794, and not 1786, 1791 or 1796, as has been variously stated.

Elias Kent Kane was graduated from Yale in 1812. At this time his father and his uncles were extensive merchants at New York with branch stores at Utica, Whitesboro and Albany. They were all educated men and possessed of ample means. Elias, after graduation, prompted by a spirit of adventure and enterprise, mingled with political ambition, left his comfortable home on the Hudson and turned his face toward the territory of Illinois. In 1813 or 1814, he appears to have reached Tennessee, but the period of his residence there was short, and as early as 1814 he located at Kaskaskia, then the capital of the Territory of Illinois and the metropolis of the upper Mississippi valley for half a century.

When the young Yale graduate arrived at Kaskaskia, the town, originally a French-Indian village, had already assumed a decidedly American aspect. The second war with Great Britain was well on. The British forces had taken Detroit and Mackinaw, and their Pottawattomie Indian allies from the St. Joseph, Calumet, Kankakee, DuPage and Illinois rivers, had massacred many whites and burned Fort Dearborn, at the present site of Chicago. Ninian Edwards, at one time chief justice of the court of appeals in Kentucky, was the territorial governor. The pre-emption act for Illinois had been passed by Congress and Kane took an immediately active part in affairs in his new home.

He was considered a son of Illinois when Fort Dearborn was rebuilt in 1816, the same year that the law was enacted establishing banks at Shawneetown and Edwardsville. He saw the first steamboat, the General Pike, which ascended the Mississippi river above Cairo, and was active in politics when—April 18, 1818—Congress passed the act enabling the people of Illinois to form a constitution. In August of the same year the constitutional convention, which had been elected in July, adopted and proclaimed a constitution.

The population had been increasing rapidly and the territorial Legislature, when in session at Kaskaskia during January of 1818, prepared and sent to Nathaniel Pope, delegate in Congress and one of the seven Kaskaskians having counties named for them—the others being Ninian Edwards, territorial governor and afterward Governor of the State; Shadrach Bond, first Governor of Illinois as a State; John Edgar, in whose house Lafayette was entertained; Daniel P. Cook, member of Congress; Peter Menard, first lieutenant governor, and Elias Kent Kane—a petition praying for the admission of Illinois into the Union on an equal footing with the original states.

The petition was presented, and in time the Committee on Territories reported a bill for the admission of Illinois with a population of 40,000. This was considered a very audacious proceeding, for the ordinance of 1787 required a population of at least 60,000. Mr. Pope, however, was a shrewd and able statesman, and not only succeeded in carrying his point regarding the mere admission of the territory as a State, but also succeeded in amending several important features of the bill as it came from the committee. He was a man of great foresight; he saw the future of the State and he worked to make possible the great commonwealth of the present day.

One of his amendments contemplated the extension of the northern boundary of the State to the parallel of forty-two degrees, thirty minutes north latitude. The fifth section of the ordinance of 1787 required that at least three states should be formed from the northwest territory. The section defined the boundary of the western states as the Mississippi river, the Ohio and the Wabash and a line running due north from Vincennes to Canada. This included the present states of Wisconsin and Illinois. There was a proviso, however, which said "that if the Congress shall hereafter find it expedient they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southern bend of Lake Michigan."

The line of forty-two degrees, thirty minutes extended the boundary line fifty miles farther north and enabled the state to secure a part of the coast of Lake Michigan. Had it not been for the vigilance of Nathaniel Pope the city of Chicago would have been the metropolis of Wisconsin and Milwaukee would not have had the proud distinction of being the commercial capital of the Badger state. Not only that, Illinois would have missed the northern terminus of the Illinois and Michigan canal and the lead mines of Galena, for all of them come within the extension secured by the finesse of Mr. Pope. It was, however, upon the language of the ordinance of 1787, which was declared a compact to remain unalterable forever, that Wisconsin afterward based her claim to the fourteen northern counties of Illinois—Jo Daviess, Stephenson, Winnebago, Boone, McHenry, Lake, Carroll, DeKalb, Kane, DuPage, Whiteside, Cook, Ogle and Lee. To Nathaniel Pope the people of Illinois owe a debt of gratitude. An able lawyer, he was the soul of integrity in his official relations and ever faithful to his trusts. He was one time secretary of the territory and in 1816 was elected delegate to Congress. After procuring the enabling act for the admission of Illinois as a State, he was appointed United States district judge, in which capacity he served for many years, his residence being Springfield. He died in 1870.

Judge Pope foresaw the possibilities. His amendment made Illinois the key in the western arch of states. The southern extremity penetrated far between the slave states down to the Mississippi, affording an outlet to the gulf all the year; she was skirted with hundreds of miles of navigable rivers on either side. Given a fair coast on the lake, she was enabled to unite her interests, through the strong bonds of trade and commerce, with the north and east. Thus bound to the north and south in her geographical position, she has ever been enabled to exert a controlling influence upon the nation.

The question of the northern boundary agitated the people of the section concerned for many years. It entered into their political conflicts and exercised a most important influence upon their local affairs. Many of the settlers condemned this striking departure, which fixed the boundary line fifty miles farther north than the ordinance of 1787. Boundary meetings at various places in the fourteen counties were held from time to time showing that the feeling was deep and widespread. One important meeting, largely attended, was held at Oregon City, January 22, 1842, the purpose of the people being to transfer their allegiance to Wisconsin or carve out a commonwealth for themselves. This resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting that part of the northern territory which lies north of an east and west line through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan belongs to and of right ought to be a part of the state or states which have been or may be formed north of said line."

Wisconsin was still a territory; the people favorable to her pretensions resolved further that the ordinance of 1787 could not be altered or changed without the consent of the people of the original states and of the northwest territory; that as part of the people of the territory they would not so consent; that the lines designated in the ordinance were better suited to the geographical situation and local interests of their region; that they were decidedly opposed to placing any of the territory north of the line within the jurisdiction of a state south of it; that they recommended the legislature of Wisconsin to apply for admission to the union, claiming the line of the ordinance as their southern boundary; that they disclaimed any intention to absolve themselves from any pecuniary responsibility created by the Legislature of Illinois on account of the internal improvements, etc.

The resolution being unanimously adopted, a committee of nine was appointed to proceed to Madison, with full power to consult with the governor and the legislature of the territory of Wisconsin. Governor Doty and the legislature gave the committee their assurance of hearty coöperation in petitioning Congress toward the end of the view. Nothing, however, came of all the clamor. The essential point was whether the Acts of the Congress of the confederate states are of such binding force that a Congress of the United States cannot amend or annul them—whether the former possessed a higher power than the latter.

When the first constitutional convention of Illinois was assembled at Kaskaskia in July, 1818, the counties represented were: St. Clair. Randolph, Madison, Gallatin, Johnson, Edwards, White, Monroe, Pope, Jackson, Crawford, Bond, Union, Washington and Franklin. Jesse B. Thomas was chosen president and William C. Greenup secretary of the convention, but to Elias Kent Kane the delegates looked for advice. He had been a judge of the territory by virtue of an appointment from the President of the United States, and was one of the five lawyers among the delegates. His ability and learning were recognized, and he had been in cases where he opposed Webster, Clay and other of the great legal luminaries of the day. He was perhaps the chief spirit in the framing of the constitution, and is credited with stamping the document with many excellencies.

The constitution was not submitted to the people for their approval or rejection. The people had very little to do with the election of officers under its provisions and could vote only for governor, members of the General Assembly, sheriffs and coroners. The framers of the constitution evidently did not trust the people to any considerable extent. The people had nothing to say with reference to the appointment of their judges, supreme, circuit or probate. They could not elect their prosecuting attorneys, county or circuit clerks, recorders or justices of the peace. The appointment of nearly every officer of the State was vested in the General Assembly, and that body was not slow to avail itself of the powers conferred, to the very fullest extent. Here is the language of the appointing power: "An Auditor of public accounts, an attorney general, and such other officers of the state as may be necessary may be appointed by the General Assembly, whose duties may be regulated by law." It was a question for many years as to what constituted an officer of the State.

From time to time the governors were permitted to appoint State's attorneys, recorders, State commissioners, bank directors and the like, but the legislators finally took over all these appointments. Now and then, when in full political accord, a governor would be given considerable appointing power, to be shorn of it by a succeeding Legislature. In the administration of Governor Duncan, who had broken away from Jackson and the dominant party, he was stripped of all patronage and his appointing power confined to notaries public and public administrators.

Those days were the days of place hunters and the chief occupation of the members of the General Assembly was to pacify the hordes of office seekers. Intrigues, corruption for place and power and the game below the surface were the order of the day. It was a situation which would warm the cockles of the heart of any gray wolf. Politics as played today is simply angelic compared to the days when the times were good for the grafter under the first constitution.

The Governor did not have the veto power in those days, but he, with the four judges of the Supreme Court, revised all bills passed by the General Assembly before they became laws. For this purpose the judges were required to attend the sessions of the Legislature without compensation. This scheme was a good one in a way. It lessened litigation, for the validity of all laws was decided in advance.

This constitution was the first organic law of any state to abolish imprisonment for debt. It did not prohibit the legislature from granting divorces, and this was a fruitful source of legislation, as the old statutes will abundantly testify. Against the advice of Kane, this and other features, which were afterward cured, became the law of the new state. Perhaps its worst feature was the lack of limitation against the legislature loaning or pledging the credit and faith of the state in aid of any public or private enterprise. Because of this the state was repeatedly connected with banking schemes, undertook a vast system of internal improvements in 1837, and finally became so harassed and involved that repudiation was openly advocated and became an issue which narrowly escaped ruining the credit and good faith of the commonwealth.

All this, however, was not the fault of Kane. He did all that man could to make the constitution a safe-guard and was credited with framing the really good sections as well as combating the adoption of those clauses which afterward worked to the disadvantage of the people.

One of the interesting incidents of the first constitutional convention is told by Governor Ford. "During the sitting of the convention, the Reverend Mr. Wiley and congregation of a sect called Covenanters, in Randolph county, sent in their petition asking that body to declare in the constitution that 'Jesus Christ was the head of the government and that the Holy Scriptures were the only rule of faith and practice.' The petition was not given much attention, whereupon the Covenanters refused to recognize the state government and declared it to be a 'heathen and unbaptized government.' For a long time they refused to vote, and did not until 1824, when the question was whether Illinois should be made a slave State. Then they voted for the first time against slavery. Before that time they constantly refused to work the roads, serve on juries, hold office or do any act which might be construed as a recognition of the government of the State.

On the seventeenth of September, 1818, was held the first election for State officers. October 5 of the same year the first General Assembly met at Kaskaskia, and on the day following Shadrach Bond was inaugurated as the first governor. By gubernatorial appointment, Judge Kane became the first Secretary of the State and was an able assistant to the new Governor, a man without school training. In 1819 the Legislature provided for the selection of a new capital, and in 1820 removed the State office to Vandalia. The political pot began to boil at a lively rate. The Legislature chartered the State Bank of Illinois in 1821 and the financial condition became so bad that in 1823 a resolution was passed by the General Assembly calling a constitutional convention. It was in December of this year that the State House was destroyed by fire.

It was on August 2, 1824, that the pro-slavery men attempted to call a convention to amend the constitution. The ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery or involutary servitude in the northwest territory, but the deed of cession from Virginia, executed in 1784, provided that the inhabitants who had been Virginia citizens should have their possessions and titles confirmed to them. It was early contended that the deed of cession from Virginia guaranteed to the holders of slaves a right of property in them. Article six of the constitution of 1818, which provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should be introduced in the State, tacitly recognized the rights of the slave holders, resident of Illinois at the time. But this was not sufficient for the pro-slavery men. They wished to make possible the recognition of slavery as an institution in the State. They controlled the Legislature and succeeded in having adopted a resolution authorizing a constitutional convention. But under the constitution the vote of the people on the convention resolution could not take place until the following election for members of the General Assembly, a period of eighteen months. This gave ample time for discussion and both parties threw themselves into the contest with vigor. Not only the leaders, but the rank and file of the people entered into the struggle. Governor Ford says:

> "The anti-convention party established newspapers to oppose the convention, one at Shawneetown, edited by Henry Eddy; one at Edwardsville, edited by Hooper Warren, with Governor Coles, Thomas Lippincott, George Churchill and Judge Lockwood for its principal contributors; and finally, one at Vandalia, edited by David Blackwell, the Secretary of State. The slave party had established a newspaper at Kaskaskia, under the direction of Mr. Kane and Chief Justice Reynolds; and one at Edwardsville, edited by Judge Smith; and both parties prepared to appeal to the interests, the passions and the intelligence of the people. The contest was mixed up with much personal abuse; and now was poured forth a perfect lava of detraction, which, if it were not for the knowledge of the people that such matters are generally false or greatly exaggerated, would have overwhelmed and consumed all men's reputations. * * * The principal partisans in favor of a convention were Judges Phillips, Brown and John Reynolds, Jesse B. Thomas and Governor Edwards, our senators in congress, Lieutenant Governor Kinney, Judge Smith, Chief Justice Thomas Reynolds, John McLean, Judge McRoberts, Governor Bond and Elias K. Kane. And the principal men opposed to a convention and slavery were Morris Birkbeck, Governor Coles, Daniel P. Cook, our member of congress, David Blackwell, George Churchill, Samuel D. Lockwood, Thomas Lippincott, Hooper Warren, George Forquer, Thomas Mather and Henry Eddy. The odds in the array of great names seemed to be in favor of the convention party. The question of slavery was thoroughly discussed. The people took an undivided and absorbing interest in it; they were made to understand it completely; and as this was long before the Abolition excitement of modern times, the introduction of slavery was resisted, not so much upon the ground of opposition to it in general, as simply upon the grounds of policy and expediency. The people decided, by about 2,000 majority, in favor of a free state."

The attempt to introduce slavery into Illinois was not afterward revived to the extent of trying to make it constitutional provision, although the pro-slavery people were a wonderful factor in politics and remained strong until the time of the civil war. They demonstrated their strength by electing Elias Kent Kane, one of the principal leaders of the defeated convention movement, United States Senator, November 30, 1824, for the term commencing March 4, 1825, and terminating March 3, 1831, to succeed Senator McLean.

Senator Kane's attitude toward slavery may have been somewhat determined by his marriage to Felicite Peltier, a woman of French extraction and an owner of slaves. It is certain that the first constitution, framed largely by him, showed a spirit of sympathy with free institutions quite at variance with the part he played in the later convention movement.

At the time of Senator Kane's election, Senator McLean was a candidate for the long term. He had been elected to serve the three months' unexpired term of Senator Edwards and, confident of his re-election, had departed for Washington but seven days before the Legislature acted. But a new candidate appeared in the field and after a protracted struggle Senator McLean failed to succeed himself, and Elias Kent Kane was elected. This was on the tenth ballot, when Kane received twenty-eight votes and Samuel D. Lockwood, the next highest, twenty-three votes.

Senator Kane took his seat March 4, 1825, and on that day he wrote to his wife: "Whilst the whole world seems to have pressed into the capital to hear John Quincy Adams make his inaugural speech, I have retired to the Senate chamber."

If 1794 be accepted as the date of his birth, Senator Kane was at this time but thirty-one years of age and therefore one of the youngest men to have won the toga. The late Senator Bryan, appointed by Governor Broward of Florida to complete the unexpired term of Stephen R. Mallory, and who was thirty-two years old, has been described as the youngest man to enter the senate since Henry Clay, but it is a distinction which he must perhaps yield to his predecessor from Illinois.

The records of the senate show that Senator Kane was an active member. He was an accurate thinker, and although his speeches indicate no flights of oratory, he was earnest and eloquent. A man of good judgment, kindly, courteous, and in debates at times when party spirit ran high, he was not drawn into acrimonious discussion and personalities. December 11, 1830, he was re-elected to the senate by the General Assembly on the first ballot, J. M. Robinson, his principal opponent, receiving six votes. Before the expiration of his second term his health, which had long been poor, gave way, and he died at Washington, December 12, 1835. The National Intelligencer of the fourteenth of the same month had this editorial comment concerning him:

"It is with the deepest regret that we have to announce the decease of another member of the national legislature, being the third whose departure from life we have been called upon to deplore within the brief space of five days after the assembling of congress. Honorable Elias Kent Kane, a senator from the State of Illinois, expired at the residence of his father in this city Friday last, after a severe illness of a few days, aged forty-three years. He was an urbane and amiable gentleman, estimable in his domestic and social relations and a useful and respected member of the senate, in which elevated body he had held a seat for ten years, the strongest proof of the high respect in which he was held by his fellow citizens at home."

His funeral was held in the old senate chamber, now the Supreme Court, and was attended by the President and heads of departments. The committee of arrangements consisted of Senators Benton of Missouri, Clayton of Delaware, Hendricks of Indiana, Crittendon of Kentucky and Wright of New York.

In the dedication of the first volume of the reports of the Supreme Court of Illinois, known as "Breese," the author, Judge Sidney Breese, afterward to sit in the seat occupied by Senator Kane in the Senate, speaks of him as his early legal instructor and friend, "one who had always held the first rank at the bar of the State," and one with whom he had been associated in the practice of an honorable profession for several years; who had never proved deficient in answering any requirements that had been made upon his abilities and against whose integrity as a man and a lawyer no imputation had ever been made.

Governor Thomas Ford, noted for the bitterness and scathing quality of his writings, says of him in his history of Illinois: "His talents were both solid and brilliant." Says George W. Smith: "Tall, florid, of a kindly expression, scholarly and affable, Mr. Kane was deservedly popular, even to the degree of commanding the support of his political enemies. For the lawyer, legislator and man let there be a revival of recollection, and to his memory let further honor be given."

EARLY ILLINOIS RAILROADS.

The Place of the Illinois Central Railroad in Illinois History Prior to the Civil War.

By Howard G. Bronson, Ph. D.

From the time of LaSalle and the early French traders down to the present the history of Illinois, in both its political and social aspects, has been closely connected with the economic development of the State. The peculiar geographic location of the commonwealth, the growth of certain industries, the extension of commerce and trade, and, above all, the creation of adequate means of inland transportation have left a deep impress on the thought of the people, their social customs and even their attitude towards political movements. Likewise, these conditions of thought, custom and politics have affected the industrial growth of the community.

In this interplay of economic, social and political influences the question of internal transportation has held first place among the many problems confronting the people in the long period from 1830 to the close of the Granger agitation. A glance at the map shows that while Illinois is practically encircled by natural waterways, the interior of the State, which is by far the most fertile portion, is without means of transportation except that provided by man. Before the introduction of the railroad the central counties such as Coles, McLean, Macon and Champaign, were practically isolated from the remainder of the country and were entirely dependent upon the local highways for any communication with the outside world.

The condition of these early country roads was wretched to an extent almost beyond description. There were a few old corduroy roads and three or four government turnpikes, but they were short and ill kept. Elsewhere, former Indian trails or newly made section roads were the only semblances of highways that existed. In summer these roads were little better than the surrounding prairies, often worse; in winter they were mere mud holes. Fortunate, indeed, was the traveler who was not compelled to help pry the coach out of the deep mud or wait until morning for a yoke of oxen to pull him out of some worse than ordinary slough. Mails were often delayed and, during the winter storms and spring rains, not only farm houses, but even large towns were entirely isolated. Moreover, the State had shown itself utterly unable to remedy these evils. The statute books were covered with enactments declaring certain trails or mud roads public turnpikes, but even a sovereign state cannot legislate a mud hole into a turnpike. Charters, almost without number, were granted private corporations, but without tangible results of any importance.[1] Local enterprise was equally fruitless and the efforts of the counties to improve the public roads had generally failed.

This absence of good highway facilities greatly retarded the economic development of the State and especially the central portion. The cost of carrying freight over ordinary country roads or even on well-built highways under the most favorable circumstances is very great.[2] On such roads as existed in Illinois prior to the civil war the expense of moving heavy freight for any distance was practically prohibitive and ten to twenty miles was as far as grain or other bulky goods could be hauled with any degree of profit. As nearly all the products of the interior counties consisted of articles of small value compared with their bulk, this meant that an extensive network of railroads or canals was necessary to the proper economic development of the State. Instead of such a system of internal transportation Illinois had nothing but execrable country roads, supplemented to only a slight extent by the few navigable or semi-navigable streams. The farmer living in the interior of the State could carry only a small part of his crop of wheat or corn to market to be exchanged for "store goods" and the total amount of grain received at Chicago, St. Louis and Peoria from the interior counties of Illinois was insignificant.

The great bulk of the population in the forties and fifties was engaged in agriculture and the inadequate system of transportation had a depressing influence on that occupation. Farmers living near the waterways found good markets for their produce, but those not so favorably situated shipped little grain or meat outside the State. Only slight cultivation was necessary to have the rich prairie soil bring forth abundant crops and the immediate needs of the farmer and his family were easily supplied. Labor saving machinery was not in general use and the work of gathering the crops had to be performed by hand, with farm labor scarce and commanding high wages. As a result, there was no incentive to raise large crops, while the amount of physical work involved made it impossible for the farmer to plant or gather more than a moderate yield. Shiftless methods of farming were the natural consequence and only a small portion of the arable land was under cultivation. Out of a total area of thirty-five million acres, slightly over three million were planted in the five staples, wheat, corn, oats, rye and potatoes.[3] One third of the entire area, or eleven and a half million acres, was still unoccupied government land,[1] and much of the remainder had never been broken by the plough.[2] At the same time, the yield per acre was much less than could have been expected from the almost virgin soil of the prairies.[3]

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[1] Session Laws of Illinois, 1837 to 1850.

[2] The cost of carrying a ton of freight from Buffalo to New York by wagon was $100, or about 20 cents per ton per mile. (Bogart, Economic History of the United States, page 191.) This was over good roads, and the cost per ton, per mile, for carrying grain in Illinois must have averaged considerably more.

[3] Letter of Robt. Rantoul, Documents Relating to the Organization of the Illinois Central Railroad.

Inadequate transportation and backward agricultural conditions greatly retarded the settlement of the commonwealth and influenced the social and political life of those within its borders. The earliest settlements were made by the French at Cahokia and Kaskaskia near the Mississippi river and until the end of the third decade nearly all subsequent settlements were also near the banks of the Ohio, the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, especially in the southern counties. At the beginning of the fourth decade the majority of the population were immigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee and other parts of the south, or their descendants.[4] Then, from 1830 to 1850, there occurred a heavy immigration into the northern and central counties; most of the new settlers coming from the eastern states or Europe.[5] By 1850 Illinois had a population of eight hundred and fifty thousand and three-fourths of the inhabitants were living north of Vandalia and were of northern or European stock.[6] Furthermore, despite the absence of good transportation, three hundred and seventy-five thousand people were in the thirty-six counties which possessed neither a canal, a river nor a railroad; and the number living more than ten miles from such means of communication must have been considerably larger.[7]

In the very earliest white settlements in Illinois the lack of good highways and the economic isolation of the interior proved a serious check to the growth of the community, but as the population was small and distributed along the few navigable rivers slight attention was given to the matter of transportation. Nor did the heavy immigration from the southern states make necessary a radical improvement.

The settlers had always been accustomed to poor roads; they were settled near the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Illinois; and the number of people of the State was still small.[8] However, the enormous growth of population from 1830 on—the increase was from a hundred and fifty thousand in the former year to eight hundred thousand in 1850—made necessary the solution of problems which before had been borne as an unavoidable accompaniment of frontier life.

This was particularly true of the central counties. In 1830 a few thousand log huts scattered over the heart of the State were the only signs of civilization. But every succeeding year witnessed an increase in the number of homestead entries, the thickening of settlements and the rapid extension of cultivated land. The settlers were no longer shiftless, easy going trappers or their hardly less shiftless companions on the clearings; in their place were energetic and progressive newcomers from New York, New England and even Ireland, Germany and old England. As population and wealth grew and the disadvantages of the isolated economic conditions became more burdensome, greater and greater attention was given to the question of local and through transportation which could do away with the unbearable frontier life. The demands of the interior counties for a closer economic connection with the remainder of the State found a natural expression in the political field and for some fifteen years from 1835 to 1851 the solution of this problem was the subject of political debate, legislative action and popular vote. The center of the field was occupied by plans for some form of a central railroad and it is the political aspects of this project that forms the theme of the remainder of this paper.

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[1] Ibid Seventh Census of the United States (1850), page 730.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Compenlum U. S. Census, 1850, page 170. Average yield per acre was: Wheat, 11; rye, 14; corn, 33; oats, 29; barley, 40, bushels.

[4] Sixth Census of the United States (1830); Greene, Government of Illinois, page 26; cf. various essays of Prof. C. W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, on this subject in publications of Illinois State Historical Library.

[5] Seventh Census of the United States (1850).

[6] Seventh Census (1850), pp. 117, 118. The 30 counties south of Vandalia had a population of 219,863; the 69 north of that town, 631,607. The foreign born population was as follows: England, 18,628; Scotland, 4,661; Wales, 572; Ireland, 27,786; British America, 10,699; Germany, 38,446; total, 110,593. Native born of foreign parents not given.

[7] Seventh Census. The 36 counties without railroads, canals or navigable rivers had a population of 375,529 in 1850, or 44.1 per cent of the total.

[8] Cf., page 3 and 4.

A great central highway connecting the northern and southern counties of Illinois had always been a favorite project with the legislatures and executives of the State. As early as 1830 Governor Coles suggested that Lake Michigan might easily be tapped and the water taken by canals not only into the Illinois, but on the dividing line between that river and the Wabash down through the center of the State.[1] Only two years later, Lieutenant Governor A. M. Jenkins proposed in the Senate that a survey be made for a central railroad from Cairo to Peru[2] and, though somewhat premature, the proposal created considerable discussion, both in and out of the Legislature. By 1835, the building of the "Central" had become one of the important issues in State politics. The project was ably advocated by such newspapers as the Sangamon Journal[3] and also a number of leading citizens, prominent among them being Sidney Breese, whose fifteen years of service in promoting the undertaking entitles him to be called the "Father of the Illinois Central Railroad."[4]

With such support it was not long before definite measures were undertaken and on January 18, 1836, the Illinois Legislature incorporated the (Illinois) Central Railroad Company to construct a railroad from "the mouth of the Ohio" to a point on the Illinois river at or near the termination of the Illinois-Michigan canal.[5] Darius B. Holbrook, a New York speculator and promoter who had lately come to the west, was the leading spirit in the company and with him were associated Governor Reynolds, Lieutenant Governors A. M. Jenkins and Pierre Menard, Judge Sidney Breese, and Albert K. Snyder,[6] besides fifty-three others of less note. These gentlemen constituted the first board of directors and a capital of two and a half million dollars was authorized. From the first this road was regarded as a peculiar state institution and, lest its policy should be dominated by a foreign monopoly, provision was made that no person could subscribe to more than five shares of stock and that at least one-fifth of the capital should be offered for sale in the State.[1] Provision was also made that whenever the company earned more than twelve per cent on the cost of construction for a period of ten years the Legislature could so reduce earnings and tolls for the next ten years that the earnings would not exceed that amount; reports being made to the State to show cost of construction and gross and net receipts.[2] In return for this restriction on the powers of the company the Legislature inserted a clause in the charter agreeing not to incorporate any competitive railroad for a period of fifty years.[3]

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[1] Illinois Monthly Magazine, Vol. I, No. 1, October, 1830.

[2] Newton, Early Railroad Legislation in Illinois, page 7; Ackerman, Historical Sketch of the Illinois Central R. R., pp. 6 and 7.

[3] Sangamon Journal, October 31st, 1835.

[4] Cf. Appendix, Early History of Illinois, by Sidney Breese.

[5] Laws of Illinois, Session, 1835-36, pp. 129ff.

[6] Ibid.

While not a direct issue in State politics the incorporation of the Central Company shows the strong hold the project had upon the minds of the people. The incorporators were leading politicians and men of affairs of the community and the company itself enjoyed many privileges not usually granted to a "foreign" company. At the same time, like most western corporations, it was without financial backing and its incorporation is only an evidence of popular interest.

Hardly was the company organized when it was swept aside by a movement of far greater general interest. So long as canals were the only artificial means of cheap land transportation their prohibitive cost prevented the people of the western states from making any attempt to create a general system of internal improvements. The introduction of the locomotive into England and soon after into the eastern states provided a cheap yet efficient means of inland communication. As if an accompaniment of this invention there took place in the United States a period of unprecedented financial prosperity, while the speculative spirit among the State legislatures was fostered by the treasury distribution act of 1837 and other fiscal measures of the national government. Thus, the financial and technical difficulties in the way of an extensive system of internal improvements were apparently removed.

Like one of her own prairie fires the demand for State construction of an extensive system of internal improvements spread over the State of Illinois. Mass meetings, conventions, parades were held in all parts of the State; the newspapers took up the movement and their columns were filled with editorials and contributed articles; finally, the politicians seized it as a means of personal and party popularity, and the Legislature passed the celebrated Internal Improvement Act of 1837. The political "deals," log rollings and tricks adopted to secure the passage of the measure, even by such men as Douglas, Logan and Lincoln, are familiar to every reader and need not be repeated.[4] It is interesting to note, however, that it was the influence of the central portions of the State, i. e. the portions most in need of railroads, which finally secured the passage of the measure.

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[1] Laws of Illinois, Session, 1835-36, p. 134.

[2] Ibid., p. 133.

[3] Ibid., section 6.

[4] Cf. the accounts of the passage of the Internal Improvement Act as given in Davidson and Stuve's History of Illinois; also Moses, Illinois Historical and Statistical.

The system of internal improvements provided for by the act extended to all parts of the State and was a worthy conception of the strongest General Assembly ever held in Illinois. The backbone of the system was a central railroad from Cairo northward, via Vandalia, Shelbyville, Decatur, Bloomington and Savannah, to Galena, at the time the most important city in the State.[1] In addition there were several cross lines extending from the main stem to the important cities on the eastern or western boundaries. The entire system amounted to about twelve hundred miles, but the estimates as to cost of construction were surprisingly low. Three and a half million dollars was regarded as sufficient to build the four hundred and fifty miles of the main line, while the Shelbyville and Alton branches were to cost $650,000.00 and $600,000.00, respectively, or from seven to ten thousand dollars per mile; less than one-fourth what it cost the present company fifteen years later.[2] A loan, based on the credit of the State, was to provide the funds, while a board of seven commissioners was appointed to manage the enterprise during its construction and after completion.[3]

From the political viewpoint the internal improvement plan is interesting as the first and fullest expression of the celebrated Illinois "State policy." With a narrow State loyalty, almost inconceivable now, the central and northern parts of the State insisted that every railroad passing through the territory of Illinois should terminate at an Illinois city. In other words outside or "foreign" centers should not be built up at the expense of local towns with a deep seated ambition to be the London or New York of the west. The internal improvement system was the ideal of these narrow sectionalists; and Galena, Quincy, Alton, Cairo and Mount Carroll were made the termini of the railroads and were established as the commercial centers of the State in so far as the Legislature could do so by enactment.

Despite the enthusiasm of the populace; despite the reckless generosity of the Legislature—with other people's money, despite the strict adherence to the Illinois State policy, the project was doomed to failure. Immediately after the passage of the act, the commissioners commenced work and for a while it seemed as if this collossal undertaking might be finished. Grading was commenced at Cairo, Galena and intermediate points; tens of thousands of dollars was expended on the dikes and levees at Cairo; large quantities of rail were purchased; about forty miles of embankment north of Cairo completed; and, altogether, something like a million dollars was expended on the central route and branches, although certainly not in the most effectual manner.[4] But the task was entirely beyond the ability of the State; financial difficulties prevented the floating of the necessary bonds, while extravagance, graft and mismanagement exhausted the money already procured, and a hundred miles of grading and a few thousand tons of iron were the only tangible results of this second attempt to construct a railroad through the center of Illinois.[1]

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[1] Laws of Illinois, Session 1836-1837, p. 121; Newton, Early Railway Legislation in Illinois, pp. 21-23.

[2] Laws of Illinois, Session 1836-1837, p. 121; Bronson, History of the Illinois Central Railroad, page 181 (in mss.).

[3] Ibid.

[4] Chicago Daily Democrat, December 24, 1849. Editorial.

Even this failure did not deter the State or its citizens from endeavoring to complete the project, and on March 6, 1843, only six years after the passage of the Internal Improvement Act, the Legislature incorporated the Great Western Railway Company, better known as the Holbrook Company.[2] To understand this act it is necessary to go back six years to March 4, 1837.

On that date, the Cairo City and Canal Company was incorporated with power to hold real estate in Alexander county, especially the tract of land now included in the corporate limits of Cairo, and to carry on general industrial enterprises.[3] Mr. Darius B. Holbrook, of New York, the promoter of the company of 1836, was elected president and for twenty years the enterprise was dominated by his masterful personality until the two became synonymous.[4] During the prosperous period just before the panic the company borrowed between two and three million dollars, largely from English capitalists; purchased several thousand acres of land at the mouth of the Ohio river; established industries of all kinds; laid out an extensive city at what is now Cairo, protected it by embankments and levees, carried on a general mercantile business, and enacted ordinances for the government of the citizens of Cairo.[5] However, the resources of the company were not equal to the demands made upon it and the failure of the internal improvement policy in 1840, following closely after the severe panic of 1837, forced the enterprise into bankruptcy. English investors refused further financial support and the stoppage of work on the State railroad destroyed the undeveloped industries at Cairo. The directors neglected the undertaking; the property in and near the city was abandoned, and for a time the place was occupied only by squatters and disreputable characters from the river boats.[6]

The extreme depression existing in Illinois after the panic of 1837 and the failure of the State policy prevented Mr. Holbrook from doing anything with the Cairo City and Canal Company until 1843. Realizing the possibilities of the "Central" railroad he induced the Legislature to pass the Great Western Railway Act of that year. According to the charter the president and directors of the Cairo City and Canal Company were incorporated as the Great Western Railway Company and were given authority to construct a railway from Cairo to the Illinois-Michigan Canal.[7] In many ways this act was quite favorable to the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Laws of Illinois, Session 1843-4, pp. 199-200; Newton, Early Railway Legislation in Illinois, p. 33; Ackerman, Early Illinois Railroads.

[3] Laws of Illinois, Session 1837-8, March 4, 1837.

[4] Cf. Newspaper reports of the time, especially in 1850 and 1851.

[5] Anon. History of Cairo. Publications of the Cairo City and Canal Company; Henry Long, History and Prospects of Cairo.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Laws of Illinois, Session 1842-43, pp. 199 ff.

State. The otherwise worthless grading done in 1837 and 1840 was to be purchased at a fair valuation; twenty-five per cent of the net receipts from operation, after a twelve per cent dividend had been paid on the stock, were to go to the State; and the Legislature could alter the charter of both the Great Western and Cairo City and Canal Companies after all the indebtedness of the former was paid. But, for half a dozen years the Cairo company had been known as a flagrant example of speculative and corrupt corporate management, and to turn over to such a company, without reasonable compensation or even adequate safeguards as to the completion of the work, the most important industrial enterprise within the State, was, to say the least, a short sighted policy. Moreover, a clause was inserted in the closing section of the act surrendering to the company any public lands which might come into the possession of the State of Illinois during the life of the charter. Not even a guarantee was demanded that such lands should be used for the construction of the railroad. This legislation shows the wretched financial condition the State was in in 1843 and illustrates the lack of foresight characteristic of the General Assemblies during the period.[1]

For a time it seemed as if the company was seriously determined to proceed with the "Central" railroad. Large sums were borrowed and expended in finishing the original State surveys and completing the grading. Numerous buildings were erected at Cairo and an extensive system of levees was planned and partially constructed.[2] But conditions were not favorable and the company could not obtain capital to continue the work. Several millions had already been expended by the Cairo company without dividend paying results; all Illinois credit, both State and private, was under suspicion on account of the partial repudiation of the State debt, and eastern and European capitalists refused to risk further investments in Illinois.[3] Lack of funds stopped all construction within a few months after the charter was secured and the directors finally gave up in despair. On March 3, 1845, with the consent of the company, the charter was repealed by special act of the Legislature; all work done by the company reverted to the State,[4] and the third and most promising attempt to construct the "Central" railroad ended with heavy loss to the promoters and no profit to the State.

For six years after the incorporation of the Great Western no further attempt was made to build the railroad and the energies of the supporters of the project were spent in various attempts to secure aid from the national government, but without success.[5] However, it seemed reasonably certain that the difficulties would be removed and a definite grant of land made in some session of the 30th or 31st Congresses. Any measure would undoubtedly be of considerable value to the State of Illinois or to private parties who might build the road and the Cairo City and Canal Company determined to make use of the apparently favorable conditions. Accordingly, after the failure of the land grant bill in the first session of the Thirtieth Congress the Cairo City and

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[1] Laws of Illinois, Session 1843-44, pp. 199 ff; page 203, section 18.
[2] Ackerman, Historical Sketch of the Illinois Central R. R., p. 10.
[3] Laws of Illinois, March 3, 1845.
[4] Cf. Sanborn, Congressional Grants of Land in Aid of Railways.
[5] Laws of Illinois, Session 1849-50, February 10, 1849.

Canal Company petitioned the Legislature for a renewal of their previous rights, which had been lost by the act of March 3, 1845. Although the Holbrook companies were disliked throughout the State they represented the wealthiest aggregation of capital in Illinois and apparently were the best able to complete the Illinois Central Railroad. In recognition of this fact the Legislature on February 10, 1849, re-incorporated the Great Western Railway Company, with all its former privileges, including the obnoxious clause surrendering to the company whatever lands the federal government should grant the State. Moreover, this was done without any restriction of importance being placed on the disposal of these lands.[1]

Such action by the Illinois Legislature was almost fatal to any federal land grant and Senator Douglas at once attempted to have the charter repealed. With the assistance of his colleagues at Washington and prominent citizens of the State he was able to induce the president and directors of the Cairo City and Canal Company to execute a release of the Great Western charter. However, the surrender was conditioned upon acceptance of the release by the Legislature at its next session and the incorporation of another company to carry on the project.[2]

At the following session of Congress the Illinois delegation secured a grant of land to the State of Illinois to assist in the construction of the railroad, the total amount of land thus given varying from two and a half to three million acres. The mere passage of the federal land grant act was the least difficult of the many problems confronting the friends of the Illinois Central. For some years the questions connected with this railroad had been before the Legislature and the citizens of the State, and, now that success was probable, all the previous conflicts were renewed with additional strength. The most troublesome of these conflicts involved the method of construction and the route.

There were four possible ways of utilizing the land grant, each of which had its vigorous adherents. (1) State construction of the railroad by means of the grant, along the line of the internal improvement plan of 1837. (2) Surrender of the grant to the bondholders and construction by them on terms similar to those made by the holders of canal bonds in 1840. (3) Completion by the Great Western Railway Company under its charter of 1849, including the retention of all State lands. (4) Creation of an entirely new private corporation and the transfer to it of the land grant under certain restrictions and with certain payments to the State.

To many citizens State construction was still a feasible project. From 1831 to 1843 the various plans for the railroad depended on government support and despite the collapse of the Internal Improvement Plan of 1837 there was considerable talk of direct construction by the Legislature. The cost of building the road was under-estimated, while the value of the land was over-estimated. It was thought possible to build the road without recourse to bond issues and the profits from operation would then quickly retire the old State debt.[1] But the panic of 1840 and the depressing influence of the debt was still vivid in the minds of the citizens of Illinois and they generally condemned any further work by the State.

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[1] Act of Sept. 20, 1850. U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. ix, page 466.
[2] Ibid.

Another form of semi-legislative management was contained in the so-called "bond-holders" plan, which was submitted to the Legislature in January, 1851. As a result of the internal improvement legislation a debt of some fifteen million dollars had been accumulated and the State was unable to meet the full interest charges. In fact bankruptcy or repudiation had been barely escaped and the creditors supposed there would be difficulty in attracting capital for the construction of the road. Under the circumstances, certain eastern bond-holders suggested an arrangement somewhat similar to the one under which the Illinois-Michigan canal was built. A company, composed largely of bond-holders, was to be chartered and given power to construct the railroad. Four dollars of stock or three dollars of bonds, entitled "new internal improvement stock," was to be given for each dollar of cash paid in. The State was to receive stock of a par value equal to the value of the land sold, and in addition pay all expenses of surveys, etc. The stock belonging to the State must be set apart to retire the State debt. The stock of the new company, in addition, could be made the basis for State banking.[2] On the whole, the terms were about as onerous as could be imposed on a bankrupt state and are in striking contrast to the Illinois Central charter. The project never received serious attention from either the newspapers or the Legislature.[3]

Construction by the Great Western was of much greater importance. The charter of 1849 was evidently obtained with the distinct object of securing the federal land grant and no work was done on the railroad until it was almost certain Congress would pass the act. Then construction work was started and it was stated that large quantities of rail were purchased in England. At the same time active efforts were made to defeat any bill repealing the charter.[4] It is uncertain whether this company intended to carry on the work, or, as Senator Douglas alleged, merely sell the charter in Europe.[5] At any rate the opposition to the Great Western, especially in the southern part of the State, was bitter and deep seated.

The last plan was to turn the grant over to a private corporation, other than the Cairo City and Canal Company, under proper restrictions. The memorial of the Boston capitalists (they later built the road) was the first direct proposition of the kind, but it is probable that the memorialists had suggested to the leading legislators of the State a plan along the lines of their memorial. In all probability, other capitalists were also deeply interested in the railroad. However, there was no definite project of the kind before the people during November and December, 1850.

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[1] For instance, Mr. J. S. Wright of Chicago published a pamphlet in which he took the ground that the grant being of such immense value, the State should hold the lands and again attempt the construction of the road. Ackerman, Early Illinois Railroads, p. 35.

[2] Cf. Newspaper reports for October and November, 1850.

[3] Chicago Daily Democrat, January 11, 1851.

[4] Illinois Weekly Journal, January 29, 1851. Editorial.

[5] Letters of Douglas to Breese, Springfield Daily Register, January 20, 1851.

Congress passed the land grant act in September, 1850, and the Legislature was elected the following November. On account of the release of the Great Western charter it was necessary to settle the matter at the first session of the General Assembly and the selection of proper representatives and senators was of vital importance. As soon as it became evident that the federal Congress would act favorably on the Illinois Central bill the advocates of State construction and the friends and opponents of the Cairo City and Canal Company commenced an active campaign to secure a majority of the members of the Legislature. Other State issues were consigned to the background and the question of the land grant and the acceptance of the Great Western release were the important factors in the election of members to the Fifteenth General Assembly. The newspapers of the State had numerous editorials and contributed articles defending or opposing the respective plans, or else emphasizing the importance of one route over another. Mass meetings and conventions were held at various points along the line of the proposed railroad and the excitement often was at fever heat. By November the controversy had become bitter and personal. Individual motives were impugned; the character of some of the leading newspaper editors, of Mr. Holbrook, Senator Douglas, Judge Breese and others, was maligned, and charges of bribery and fraud were frequent. By the time the Legislature convened in January the whole discussion had degenerated into a typical Illinois political fight. On the whole, the opponents of both State ownership and the Holbrook company had much the better of the argument. Only a few newspapers, such as the Benton Standard and the Cairo Times, and a few politicians, the most prominent of them being Sidney Breese, openly defended the Cairo City and Canal Company, or its subsidiary company, the Great Western. However, the latter company was already in possession of the desired charter and, conditionally, of the land grant. Thus, inaction on the part of the Legislature meant success for the Holbrook party and the Cairo City and Canal Company exerted every effort to block legislation and prevent the incorporation of a rival company. On account of the many minor fights it was not at such a disadvantage as indicated by newspaper editorials.

Many of the plans had been thoroughly discussed during the campaign and when the Legislature met the first day of January, 1851, its members were well acquainted with the main points at issue. In the organization of the house the Holbrook faction secured a temporary advantage by the election of Judge Breese as speaker and during the first two weeks of the session they were strong enough to prevent radical action. Bills were presented in both houses repealing the charter of the Great Western, but both were strongly opposed. The senate passed a bill in regard to the Illinois Central, though it did not accept the release; the house passed a bill accepting the release and refused to adopt the senate measure.[1] A large majority of the members of each body favored accepting the repeal of the Great Western charter, but so far in the session the Holbrook proposition was the only reasonable measure before the Legislature and many preferred to retain the Cairo company rather than to be entirely without a means of building the road.

At this stage of the contest affairs were entirely altered by a business-like memorial presented by Mr. Robert Rantoul of Massachusetts, acting in the interest of a group of wealthy New York and Boston capitalists. In brief the plan of the memorialists was as follows: The Legislature should create a corporation and surrender to it the federal land grant. In return the incorporators agreed to build a railroad "equal in all respects to the railroad running between Boston and Albany with such improvements thereon as experience has shown to be desirable and expedient; to complete the road by July 1854, and to pay the State —— per cent of the gross receipts in return for the land."[2] The memorialists were men of considerable capital and had had experience with railroad promotion in other parts of the country. On the whole they made a more favorable offer than could have been expected.

Coincident with the transmission of this memorial Mr. Gridley introduced in the senate a bill "for an act to incorporate the Illinois Central Railroad."[3] On February 5th Mr. J. L. D. Morrison offered a substitute for the original bill[4] and on the next day it passed by a vote of 23 to 3.[5] Four days later it passed the house by an almost unanimous vote of seventy-two to two,[6] and was immediately signed by Governor French.[7]

The passage of the charter through both houses was not as easy as the vote indicates. Shortly after the receipt of the memorial the whole matter was referred to a committee and the members, in connection with Mr. Rantoul and Colonel Bissell, the representatives of the promoters spent considerable time in preparing the measure. As the duration of the session was limited to forty days the Holbrook interests made every effort to delay the bill and during the last week of January and the first of February it looked as if their efforts would meet with success. At last, as noticed above, the bill was passed by both houses only a few days before the close of the session. The main difficulty came in the selection of a route and the Legislature was finally forced to leave the exact location of the road to the incorporators.[8] The other point of conflict was the percentage to be paid the State. This was finally fixed at seven per cent of the gross receipts, but, at the same time, the company was freed from paying any State or local taxes.[9]

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[1] Illinois Daily Register, January 15, 1851.
[2] Documetns relating to the Organization of the Illinois Central R. R.
[3] Ackerman, Early Illinois Railroads, page 39.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Illinois Weekly Journal, February 12, 1851.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] In the original memorial the amount paid to the State was left vacant. It was proposed in the House that 10 per cent be given, but the company, through the efforts of Robert Rantoul and Representative Bissell, managed to reduce the percentage to 7. The real reasons for the action of the Legislature in this matter are not known and in his campaign for election as Governor Colonel Bissell was accused of having obtained the reduction to the disadvantage of the State.

With the incorporation and construction of the Illinois Central ended the long struggle to secure railway communication for the interior of the State. The way was blazed for new railroads in all sections of Illinois and their completion opened up to settlement the hitherto unoccupied counties. The economic isolation of the interior ceased and the State became an economic whole.

Politically, the effects were equally far reaching. The construction of the "Central" and the chartering of other companies satisfied the need of good transportation and the demands of the interior counties for internal improvements carried on by the State died away as the need became less and less. The important, and at times dominating, issue of State construction of canals and railroads, which entered so deeply into the political life of the commonwealth from 1830 to 1850, ceased to be of popular interest. The construction of the railroads and the broadening influence of improved communication also eliminated from the field the celebrated question of "State policy," for twenty-five years a bone for contention between the northern and southern counties. In brief the chartering of the Illinois Central marks the close of the political agitation for State internal improvements. After 1851 these matters which had repeatedly agitated the community disappeared and their places were taken by other questions.

MYSTERIOUS INDIAN BATTLE GROUNDS IN McLEAN COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

By John H. Burnham.

I. Indian Old Town.

Historical students are now taking a very deep interest in all that pertains to early Illinois history, whether it be early Indian, early French, British, Virginian or later American history. New light is occasionally thrown on obscure events and we may hope that a few rays may yet shine brightly on many more dim, puzzling, mysterious, past occurrences.

Two of the most interesting and most wonderful events of our unrecorded past took place within the present limits of McLean county, and it is in the hope that the attention of some of our acutest and ablest historical investigators may be attracted, that this brief sketch is undertaken.

In the central eastern part of McLean county is a large grove about fifteen miles in length from east to west, which was called Old Town timber before our first settlers arrived. At its eastern end had long existed an ancient Indian town called Old Town. On some of the early maps it is called the Great Kickapoo Village. The site of the town has never yet been cultivated, and it still bears many evidences of Indian occupation, though it needs our early settlers or their children to trace the remains. Here were locations of cabins or wigwams where even yet may be dug up occasional fragments of copper kettles or other Indian implements. A large burying ground was plainly to be seen originally, in the immediate neighborhood, and very many bones have been disinterred, together with silver brooches and Indian ornaments. A silver cross was once found which may be taken as a proof of the conscientious work of some French missionary. A few years before the first settlers arrived, the town is said to have been practically annihilated by a terrible visitation of smallpox and it had been abandoned. One, and perhaps two, circular foot race tracks, existed just outside the village. These were called foot race tracks by our early settlers, but were most likely the levelled sites of Indian war dances, which have been described by more than one traveler conversant with early Indian villages. There can be little doubt this was for a long time the headquarters of a large Indian tribe.

This Kickapoo Indian town was a well known point when those terrible Indian raids were made into Kentucky, and authentic evidence exists concerning the imprisonment here of whites captured in these forays.

Tradition informs us that about eighty years ago a Kentuckian visited Old Town and identified the site as the place where he was confined by the Kickapoo Indians sometime between 1780 and 1812. His story was to the effect that he made his escape in company with a young white woman and her father, having in the flight killed several Indians, that the father died, the young man and the young woman escaped, married and lived happily together. The story was published in a Peoria or Springfield paper many years ago, but we are unable to state whether it was given as a fact or as fiction in the "story corner" of the enterprising journal, but true or false, there is no doubt that romantic as well as tragic and horrible incidents occurred at the mysterious Indian capital.

A little to the east of the Indian village site outside of the timber line, our first settlers found the remains of a stockaded Indian fort. The area of this structure was about two acres. The lower ends of a row of timber posts or pickets had been set in the ground and a ridge of prairie dirt from one to three feet high had been thrown up against the row of posts. Pieces of the pickets were still left in the ground and the whole ridge of earth indicated the outline of the fort. An opening or gateway had apparently been left at one corner. Some burials had evidently taken place within the fort but not near as many as in the large burying ground in the vicinity. The site was on very high land overlooking a large extent of prairie, and may very well have been used as an outpost to the Indian town half a mile distant. No spring or well of water has ever been discovered inside of the fort. Very few bullets or arrow heads have been found in the fort or its neighborhood. It is difficult to imagine that this fort could have possessed any military value, although our lack of knowledge of Indian methods of fighting may lead us to form wrong conclusions. It is possible that the inhabitants of the village near-by could have been transferred on short notice to the fort, where it would have been possible for the Indian defenders to have detained an attacking party until the slight provisions of such a party would have been wasted, forcing an abandonment of the seige. The general opinion of modern white men has been that this fort was a military failure.

At the time of the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, the Indians were said to have occupied this fort and it may have been used earlier than 1811. Soldiers who were at the battle of Tippecanoe have asserted that after the battle, General Harrison sent out a cavalry expedition as far as this fort, which found there only a few sick and aged Indians, the rest having departed towards the northwest.

This statement is no doubt correct, as General Joseph Bartholomew, one of the early settlers of McLean county, who was second in command at the battle of Tippecanoe, has given this explanation.

In the political campaign of 1840, at which time General Harrison was elected president, it is stated that a large Whig delegation containing some survivors of the battle of Tippecanoe, on their way to a convention at Springfield, stopped at the site of this fort where they talked over the events of 1811, and were addressed by General Bartholomew.

The late Hiram W. Beckwith, the first president of the Illinois State Historical Society, was greatly interested in this relic. On June 30, 1880, he brought a civil engineer from Danville and in company with the Hon. S. H. West of Leroy, myself, and several others, surveyed the dim, rapidly disappearing earthen outlines of this fort, and made a careful surveyor's record of its metes and bounds.

In the fall of 1905 the McLean County Histrical Society, at the urgent solicitation of the Hon. S. H. West, placed a granite monument near the center of this ancient earth work on which is this inscription:

"SITE OF ANCIENT KICKAPOO INDIAN FORT.
Erected by the McLean County Historical Society.
1905."

The Hon. Geo. W. Funk deeded to the McLean county board of supervisors four square rods of ground, and the county record of this tract gives the metes and bounds of the site of the fort as surveyed in 1880.

2. THE ARROWSMITH BATTLE GROUND.

At the time Mr. Beckwith and others made this survey it was not generally known, excepting in its immediate neighborhood, that about seven miles northeast of these remains, were still more remarkable traces of an Indian battle ground, though a few of the early settlers had preserved the tradition of a great Indian battle having been fought not far from Cheney's Grove.

About ten years ago, owing to the increasing interest in historical investigations, public attention was directed to this Indian battle site, and an effort was made to learn something more of its situation and history.

In the present town of Arrowsmith, McLean county, Illinois almost exactly at the center of section 24, about one mile and a half west of the western extremity of Cheney's Grove, is a small tract of timber or woodland, formerly known as Little, now Smith's Grove. In order to distinguish this from the site of the fort just described we call this the Arrowsmith Indian battle ground.

Originally there were about fifteen acres covered with trees, nearly one-half of which is still in this condition, mostly small trees, of the second growth. The first settlers of this county noticed that about an acre of this space, centrally situated on a rounding knoll, about twenty-five feet in height above the level of the surrounding low ground near the Sangamon, contained ridges and depressions of rather peculiar appearance, which were said by the Indians or early settlers, or by common report, to be the remains of pits or caches where the Indians had at different times buried their corn or other valuables. The first appearance of these ridges or depressions, as near as I have been able to ascertain, seemed to be circular, irregularly shaped and irregularly placed, with edges or sides which were sloping, inclined to be steep in some places, but generally very sloping at the sides; and in depth, not over one and one-half to two and one-half feet from the tops of the ridges to the lowest parts of the depressions.

About fifty rods toward the northeast, in the prairie, just where the same commences to decline or to roll off to the lower ground, our first settlers noticed some military appearing earthworks, or zig-zag rifle-pits. They extended about ten rods from north to south, and there were about ten or a dozen of them after the fashion of a Virginia rail fence. They were not dug very deeply into the earth, were evidently hastily thrown up, and while plainly to be seen before the prairie sod had been broken, they have now disappeared. From all accounts these must have been designed after the plan of military rifle pits such as are used in military approaches to an entrenchment.

While we cannot help regretting that these markings have not been more carefully noted, we must bear in mind the fact that until the prairie all around this locality had been broken, no one supposed any of the traces I have tried to describe had any relation to an ancient battle field. About fifty years ago, it began to be noticed, after the land had been cultivated, that great numbers of bullets were found, mostly outside of the peculiar pits at the location in the center of the grove, and generally at a distance of about a gun-shot therefrom.

One beautiful day in May, 1897, a party consisting of several pioneers of eastern McLean county and a few of the members of the McLean County Historical Society made a very interesting exploration of the central attraction of the grove, and we shall never forget our intense interest as we made our discoveries. We dug into four or five of the dozen or fifteen of the pits or depressions, which were scattered irregularly over the acre of land at the top of the little knoll, and found the apparent bottoms of these pits at depths not exceeding three feet, and mostly two feet from the apparent average natural level of the ground. The largest was about fifteen feet in diameter at the top, and eight or ten feet at the bottom. Bones were found in nearly all of them, but they nearly all appeared to be bones of animals, and most of them perished rapidly on exposure to air. We found no bullets, and learned that but few bullets or arrow heads have ever been found in the pits, most of the bullets having been picked up east and south of the knoll; and many even across the present channel of the Sangamon, on the level ground beyond. Very few balls have been found west, north or northeast of the knoll, which circumstance seems to indicate the main attack was made from other directions.

It does not appear at first sight quite plain why I call this a fortification, but I think a little reflection, taken in connection with the finding of the bullets, and our explanation of the situation, will show that these pits and the ridges surrounding them, formed a real fortification. It will be seen that if holes or pits were dug about two feet deep and from ten to fifteen feet in diameter, that the loose dirt thrown up would surround these pits or holes with walls which could easily be three or four feet in height, counting from the bottom of the holes to the top of the ridges. Within these pits, thus surrounded, quite a large number of men, by keeping close to the bottoms, would be entirely safe from musket balls.

We are told in a French official report, that in 1712 at the siege of Detroit, the Foxes and Mascoutens resisted, "In a wooden fort, for nineteen days, the attack of a much larger force of French and Indians. In order to avoid the fire of the French, they dug holes four or five feet deep in the bottom of their fort." Here we have a record of an occurrence where Fox Indians, who inhabited this region of northern Illinois and were sometimes allied with the Kickapoos, in 1712, actually resorted to digging holes for protection, and it is entirely safe, from what we know now, to assume this little knoll to have been used as a fortification in a similar manner; though we have as yet, no right to assume that a real fort with wooden walls surrounded these excavations.

The list of the articles which were found, or presented to us, mostly at the time of our visit is as follows: A few arrowheads or points; 200 bullets, of four different calibers, some of which appear to have been hacked with knives, either to form them out of bar lead, or to cut down large bullets to a smaller calibre, charcoal and ashes from the bottoms of the larger pits; pieces of knife blades, which may have been scalping or dirk knives, or may have been applied to ordinary uses, pieces of copper ornaments, a piece of pistol barrel, pieces of nearly straight deer-horn prongs, part of a link of an iron chain, a peculiar pieces of iron, flattened at each end, looking as if it might have been used on deer skins as a scraper, it is apparently of rude Indian or European blacksmithing; a section of a gun barrel a foot long flattened at each end by blacksmithing curved like a letter "S" and each of these ends formed into a sort of a spoon or scraper, another section of gunbarrel, open at one end and flattened at other end as above described, a gun lock of the kind known as flint-lock, part of a steel blade, possibly the blade of a dirk knife, but more likely a razor blade on which the maker's name, Pierre Minan, can be read while the other letters can not yet be deciphered, but further examination may reveal the name of the city where it was manufactured.

In addition to these, I have made inquiries and find that at different times in the past, various other articles have been found, either around the site of these excavations, or within the distance of a gun-shot, among which were several flint gun-locks, pieces of brass or copper kettles; iron pot-hooks used to hang kettles over the fire; a piece of lead ore, properly called Galena, a piece of bar lead, said to have weighed three pounds and a half; knife blades, which may have been scalping knives, iron hatchets called tomahawks; several silver trinkets; a piece of sword blade; several pieces of gun barrels and large numbers of bullets. At first I considered the estimate of five or six hundred as probably an exaggeration, but later inquiries have convinced me that one thousand is much more likely to be near the number. I have heard of seventy-five bullets being found at one time, and there is plenty of evidence of the finding of a very large number.

The fact that some of the bullets have been cut or hacked has given the impression that they were cut out of bar lead with knives, but I consider it much more probable that the calibres of the muskets varied, and that some of the bullet moulds were so large that the balls had to be cut down to enter the rifle, as I find this was once a common practice, especially on the frontier, or among the Indians who were glad to obtain guns of almost any calibre.

It is quite remarkable, if we consider this as an ancient Indian battle ground, that so few arrow heads have been discovered. It is true that in the aggregate quite a number of these have been picked up, but the proportion preserved is not one-tenth as many as have been found of leaden bullets.

Enough bullets have been found to indicate that a very severe struggle must have taken place, as we must infer that a very large number of the bullets used must still remain in the soil. We must bear in mind that at the time this event occurred, powder and balls, and even arrows, were too valuable to be wasted after the style of modern battles, and we thus have good reason to believe that more than a mere skirmish took place, though this is again entering the region of conjecture, and after all, the skulking Indian was likely to keep himself so well concealed during an action, that very few fatalities occurred until the combat took place at close quarters, when the carnage was usually fearful.

We need not consider that it was beyond the ability of the Indians to dig these holes or pits, and throw up the dirt for protection, during or before an attack, because the reference I have made to acts of similar Indians at Detroit in 1712, proves them to have been adepts in this kind of defense.

Neither are we surprised at evidences of regular rifle pits or approaches within gunshot of the works to the northeast, because the Indian tribes after the introduction of fire arms, nearly always contained more or less French or English hunters, often called renegade whites, and also half breed Indians, who taught the Indians as much as they could of the modern or European methods of fighting, as has been repeatedly shown in the history of border warfare.

When Mr. Beckwith was informed of these investigations at the Arrowsmith battle ground he became deeply interested, and was inclined to believe that the engagement had taken place between French and Indians and called my attention to the following from one of his valuable French records:

> "Confirmatory of this is a reference in a letter written by M. de Longueil, the French commander at Detroit in 1752, where, referring to the difficulties, the French were encountering with their Indian subjects between the Illinois and Wabash rivers, it is stated among other matters of grievance the "Piankeshaws, Illinois and Osages were to assemble at the prairies of the Mascoutens, the place where Messrs. de Villiers, and M. de Noyelle attacked the Foxes about twenty years previous, and when they had built a fort to secure their families, they were to make a general attack on all the French. M. de Villiers and M. de Noyelle, as is well known, were officers at Fort Chartes."

This would indicate if the time was twenty years previous to 1752, that somewhere about 1730, at a time when hostilities existed, French troops from the Kaskaskia region attacked the Foxes at some point between the Illinois and Wabash rivers. Possibly the attack may have been at this very place, but at present we have no definite knowledge of the result of the engagement or whether the engagement actually took place here. A few months before his death, Mr. Beckwith informed me that he had, through French sources, obtained what he believed to be fairly good proof that the French and the Indian tribes had fought at this remarkable battle site, and that the French had there overcome the Indians. I was endeavoring to meet him with a stenographer to obtain his historical evidence, but in a very few weeks his useful life came to its final conclusion. Let us hope that whatever proof he found will again be brought to light.

There appears to be, to my mind, fairly good evidence that these excavations were made by Indians, and that a battle between Indian tribes was fought there, probably between 1712, the time of the siege of Detroit, and the coming of the British in 1765. In Long's expedition, published about sixty years ago, Vol. I, page 121, we find the following remarkable reference which was furnished me by Mr. Beckwith:

> "With a view to collect as much information as possible on the subject of Indian antiquities, we inquired of Robinson (a Pottawotame half breed of superior intelligence) whether any traditions on this subject were current among the Indians. He observed that these ancient fortifications were frequent subjects of conversation, and especially those in the nature of excavations, made in the ground. He had heard of one made by the Kickapoo and Fox Indians on the Sangamo river, a stream running into the Illinois. The fortification is distinguished by the name of Etnataek. It is known to have served as an intrenchment to the Kickapoos and Foxes, who were met there and defeated by the Pottawatomies, the Ottawas and the Chippewas. No date is assigned to this transaction. We understood that the Etnataek was near the Kickapoo village on the Sangamo."*

The half breed, Robinson, referred to here, lived in northern Illinois and was a very intelligent and reliable man, as we are told, but we must not allow ourselves to rely implicitly on any Indian traditions. We shall find, however, on examination, that this tradition fits well into all the circumstances of the case in hand, and that the best historical authorities never have been able to assign any other location to this traditional Indian battle between tribes.

The history of this central Illinois region, as given by the French authorities, seems to show that from about 1769 down to the settlement of this State it was inhabited by Kickapoo Indians who were on friendly terms with the Foxes of northern Illinois; and also that the Pottawatomies, Ottawas and Chippeways, who lived in Michigan, and the adjacent country, were apt to be affiliated during wars, and were liable to fight against the Foxes combined with the Kickapoos who held this region, which was then the great buffalo hunting ground coveted by all the eastern and northeastern Indian tribes.

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* I examined a book in Mr. Beckwith's historical library and verified the above quotation, but regret, I must confess, that owing to some unexplainable blunder I failed to make, or lost, the proper title of the book. An attempt lately to again verify this quotation by reference to "Long's Expedition" has shown my carelessness, and I am giving this lame explanation in the hope that the quotation which is here given correctly, may enable some careful student to identify the proper volume. Were Mr. Beckwith living he would certainly be ashamed of his pupil.—J. H. B.

I consider it, therefore, as very highly probable that the half breed Robinson's tradition, as quoted, referring to a battle between the Kickapoos and Foxes on one side who were defeated by a union of the Pottawatomies, Ottawas and Chippewas on the other side, at the site of certain excavations on the headwaters of the Sangamon river, is the true solution of the problem under consideration.

In saying this I feel that I am perhaps not giving proper credence to Mr. Beckwith's belief that a battle between French and Indians occurred at this point, but as I have never heard of any other Indian excavations made in the ground on the Sangamo river, I feel that it is at least a fair assumption that here was the site of some great Indian battle, and I most earnestly hope that competent historians will investigate all possible sources of information, and then take pains thereafter to give as great publicity as possible to the result of their examinations.

It is quite possible that either at New Orleans, which was the French headquarters for this territory for many years, or at Montreal or Quebec, or perhaps in Paris, may even yet be discovered official or clerical reports which will prove that at the site in question a conflict took place between the French and Indians. Careful researches should be made by historical students, as all has not yet been published concerning the French occupation of the northwest. These records are as likely to throw light upon the recent Indian history of Illinois, as upon the operations of the French. History teaches us that tribe after tribe of the Indians who occupied this region were barbarously and murderously annihilated and destroyed, that these fair and fertile regions were again and again bathed and deluged in human blood. Could we possess a correct history of the horrible scenes and terrible massacres witnessed here, we should doubtless consider it a mercy that a kind providence has drawn a veil of impenetrable obscurity over the centuries of blood-shed these prairies have witnessed.

It is highly probable, judging from our knowledge of the Indian character and of their ancient methods of warfare, that the vanquished in the engagement, if vanquished, in the places under consideration, were literally bathed in their own blood in the bottoms of these excavations, and that in spite of our irrepressible curiosity, it is a mercy to us that we are not able to learn any or all of the particulars of the unknown event.

ILLINOIS COLLEGE AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT.

By Charles H. Rammelkamp.

The role which Illinois College played in the anti-slavery movement has always been a story of vital interest to the alumni of the college and the people of Jacksonville. But the relation of Illinois College to the great struggle over the slavery question possesses more than a merely temporary or local interest. The importance of the issues involved, the prominence of the men who participated in the struggle, the bitterness of the dispute in a community where people from New England and the South met face to face, give the story a significance that extends beyond the walls of the college and the limits of the city of Jacksonville. Some of the leaders in the local conflict, notably President Edward Beecher, Professor Julian M. Sturtevant and Professor Jonathan B. Turner, were men of such pronounced influence upon the moral and educational development of Illinois that any movement with which they were connected at once becomes generally important.

The characteristics of the early population of Illinois are well known. The fertile prairies of the State invited the ambitious Yankee to seek his fortune in their soil. Furthermore, the fact that Illinois was forever dedicated to freedom by the ordinance of 1787 also may have influenced the pioneer from New England to settle within the bounds of the State. The New Englander naturally brought with him his antagonism to the system of slavery. But these fertile fields were just as attractive to people from the slave states of Kentucky and Missouri. Although the Southerners could not bring their slaves to till the free prairies of Illinois, and although some left the south because they desired to escape direct contact with slavery;[1] they could not entirely shake off their pro-slavery sympathies. Indeed many of them had hoped to see Illinois eventually become a slave state,[2] the Southerners, as might be expected, settled chiefly in the southern counties of the State while the New Englanders selected farms in the northern and central counties. It happened that Jacksonville, where the college had been established, was situated in the borderland region where the streams

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[1] E. g. Mr. Joseph Capps left his father's plantation in Kentucky and settled in Jacksonville, chiefly on account of his opposition to slavery; David Smith freed his slaves in Alabama and came north to Jacksonville. C. P. Koford. Puritan Influences in Illinois before 1860 in Trans. of Ill. State Hist. Society, No. 10.

[2] Recall the contest in 1823 to amend the state constitution so as to permit slavery.

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of migration from the north and south met. Mingling waters are usually turbulent. The conflicts over the slavery issue in this region were, therefore, numerous and bitter.

The men who had founded Illinois College and were directing its policy belonged mainly to the New England element. The result was that the college although placed in a community where a large proportion of the inhabitants were opposed to the abolition of slavery, became identified with the anti-slavery movement. This attitude of the institution tended to check its growth and prosperity. Indeed, there are those who assert that had it not been for the anti-slavery position of the college, it would have grown into one of the largest colleges in the state. Whatever may be the truth in this assumption, certain it is that a strong opposition to the school developed. Since the college was receiving some of its students from families of southern sympathies, the anti-slavery attitude of the faculty drove away patronage. William H. Herndon, later to become the law partner of Lincoln, was a student at the college and has testified in his biography of the great Emancipator regarding the anti-slavery influence of the college, and its effect in leading pro-slavery families to withdraw their sons from the institution. Mr. Herndon is writing of the death of Lovejoy in 1837 and continues: "This cruel and uncalled for murder had aroused the anti-slavery sentiment everywhere. It penetrated the college and both faculty and students were loud and unrestrained in their denunciation of the crime. My father, who was thoroughly pro-slavery in his ideas, believing that the college was too strongly permeated with the virus of abolitionism, forced me to withdraw from the institution and return home. But it was too late. My soul had absorbed too much of what my father believed was rank poison."[1] Very similar was the experience and testimony of the oldest living alumnus of the college, Judge T. J. C. Fagg, of Louisiana, Missouri, who was graduated in 1842. He entered college from a town in southern Missouri. His father was not only intensely pro-slavery in sentiment but owned a large number of slaves. As Judge Fagg writes he had imbibed most of his father's sentiments and feeling on the subject of slavery, but his career in Illinois College materially changed the young man's views.

He remarked on one occasion to the author: "The greatest opposition I had to contend with in my professional, political and social life here in Missouri was the fact that I had graduated from Illinois College."

At a meeting of the candidates for the Legislature at the town of Prairieville, Missouri, in July, 1850, Mr. Fagg announced himself as an independent Benton candidate for the Legislature. His enemies at once denounced him as an "abolition emmisary from Illinois College sent over to Missouri to run negro slaves out of the state." "The only thing that prevented personal violence to me," writes Judge Fagg, "was the fact that I had a small number of resolute and determined friends in the crowd who would have stood by me to the death."[2] Further evidence of the anti-slavery influence of the college and the consequent unpopularity of the institution among its pro-slavery patrons will become apparent as our story proceeds.

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[1] W. H. Herndon and J. W. Weik, Lincoln I, 178, 179.
[2] Letters to the author, dated Louisiana, Mo., Jan. 15, 1908.

It will be interesting to examine somewhat more in detail the attitude of the faculty and founders of the college. The story of the Yale band,[1] the company of seven consecrated Christian students of Yale Seminary, who entered into a compact with one another and with certain missionaries in Illinois to found a college on the western frontier is well known to every student of Illinois history. They were young men whose training and inheritance fitted them to become leaders in any movement for the betterment of their fellowmen, either white or black. Kirby, Baldwin, Sturtevant and Asa Turner, all became more or less identified with the anti-slavery movement of the middle west. The president of the college, a member of that family famous in American history for the vigorous blows which it struck at the institution of slavery, allied himself with the anti-slavery cause. It would indeed have been strange if Edward Beecher,[2] brother of Henry Ward and Harriet Beecher, had not taken the side of freedom. However, the president of this pioneer college of the middle west, anxious for the welfare ot the struggling institution, could not fail to perceive that his conduct on the slavery question would involve more interests than his own. He had left the pastorate of a flourishing church in comfortable Boston to help organize this college in the undeveloped west. He had sacrificed much and worked hard to build solid foundations for the college. Should he endanger the prosperity of the school by assuming a position on the slavery question that would antagonize many of its patrons?[3] When he came to the State in 1830, and for several years after, Beecher was opposed to the idea of immediate emancipation. He wanted a "cool, dispassionate" discussion of the subject and he preferred himself to remain rather passive in the discussion. "I had up to this time," he writes, "not participated at all in the public discussion which was so deeply exciting the nation, but had been merely an attentive and thoughtful spectator. Such was the magnitude of the subject, and such the consequences involved in its proper management, that, until the providence of God should make it my duty I was glad to retire from the conflict, and spend my time in preparing for the hour, should it ever arrive, in which duty would allow me to be silent no longer. My views, when I came to this state, were decidedly hostile to the doctrines of immediate emancipation; and it was not until the year 1835 that I became satisfied, from a careful examination of the history of experiments on this subject, that the doctrine of gradual emancipation was fallacious, and that of immediate emancipation was philosophical and safe. From that time I felt it to be a matter of immense importance that measures should be taken, kindly, but thoroughly, to convince the slave states of the fact, and to urge claims of duty. Still, however, considering the magnitude and importance of the subject; and the interest, ignorance and prejudice to be encountered, I felt that more was to be hoped from deep and thorough discussions in a cool and dispassionate style, than from popular appeals and excitement."[1]

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[1] This was known originally by its members as the "Illinois Band." J. M. Sturtevant, Autobiography, 136.

[2] He was not a member of the "Yale Band."

[3] E. Beecher, Narrative of Riots at Alton, 36, 37.

Few men connected with Illinois College have been more progressive or exerted a profounder influence upon the institution that did Professor Julian M. Sturtevant. From the cold January morning of 1830, when standing before nine young students in the unfinished room of Beecher Hall, he began the work of instruction, to the last days of his life, Mr. Sturtevant constantly exerted a strong influence upon the policy of the college. He was one of the leading intellects of his day in the middle west. Naturally he was closely associated with President Beecher in the days of conflict over the slavery question but he probably was less radical than the president. Like Mr. Beecher he appreciated the delicate position of the college in a somewhat pro-slavery community, although no one could imagine Mr. Sturtevant ever permitting mere expediency to control either his views or actions. He was inclined, however, even more than Beecher, to counsel moderation. This will be evident especially when we discuss the relation of the college to the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy. As Sturtevant himself remarks in his autobiography, "I went too far against slavery to win the favor of its advocates and not far enough to gain the approbation of its opponents."[2] Sturtevant was an intimate friend of Abraham Lincoln.[3] He belonged to that large class who hesitated to advocate total and immediate abolition in the slave states themselves but who looked with fear and abhorrence upon the threatened spread of slavery to free territory and the attempt of the "slavocracy" to stifle free speech. Mr. Sturtevant very soon came to regard the slavery question as the paramount political issue before the country. For years he refused to unite with either of the two great political parties because neither Whigs nor Democrats would frankly oppose the system of slavery; in fact, it was not until 1848, when he had reached the age of forty-three years, that he cast his first ballot in a presidential election. Not until the Free Soil party nominated a candidate could Mr. Sturtevant find a political party worthy of his suffrage.[4]

Much more radical than either President Beecher or Professor Sturtevant was a third member of the faculty, Professor Jonathan B. Turner. He was the most versatile and independent member of the faculty. The term abolitionist might much more appropriately be applied to him than either of the others. Both in the expression of his views and his activity on the Underground Railway, Mr. Turner showed himself a most determined opponent of slavery. When others hesitated on occount of natural conservatism or expediency, Turner moved forward with a decisive step. As we shall see, he frequently united with the abolitionists of the city in helping some poor slave on the way to freedom. Truman Marcellus Post was another New England scholar, graduate of Middlebury College and student at Andover Theological Seminary, who had joined the college faculty in 1833 as Profesor of Ancient Languages. His convictions were strongly in favor of the anti-slavery cause although he hesitated, perhaps more than the other members of the faculty, frankly to express his opinions. Professor Post, speaking on the same platform with President Beecher, declared, years before Lincoln made his famous speech, that "American slavery and American liberty cannot co-exist on the same soil." When the excitement over the murder of Lovejoy was at its height, Post sent an anonymous communication, "An address to the people of Alton," to the New York Emancipator. The article was a lengthy and severe arraignment of the people of Alton for the murder of Lovejoy and their outrageous attack upon the freedom of the press. We must not judge Dr. Post too severely for his failure to sign the article. The annoyance and even physical violence which a signed article would probably have brought upon the head of the author, made him hesitate to sign his name. He remarks: "I had to keep the whole matter as secret as the grave."[2] Dr. Post was later called to the pastorate of the First Congregational Church of St. Louis where he did heroic service for the Union cause during the trying times at the outbreak of the war. Most of the early trustees of the college, such as the Honorable Samuel D. Lockwood, the Reverend Gideon Blackburn, Thomas Lippincott, and David A. Smith, not to mention the members of the Yale band, who were trustees of the college, were in general opposed to slavery.

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[1] E. Beecher, Narrative of Riots at Alton, 21, 22.
[2] J. M. Sturtevant, Autobiography, 223.
[3] J. M. Sturtevant, Ibid, 286.
[4] J. M. Sturtevant, Autobiography, 279.

Reference has already been made incidentally to the relation of the institution to the Lovejoy tragedy at Alton. A fuller account of the connection of the college with this event which stirred so deeply the animosities of people not only in Illinois but in other parts of the Union ought to be given. We noted President Beecher's inclination "to retire from the conflict" and spend his "time in preparing for the hour, should it ever arrive, in which duty would allow" him to be silent no longer. That hour apparently arrived when the slave power began to attack freedom of speech and the press. Mr. Beecher was a warm friend of Elijah P. Lovejoy. He often corresponded with Lovejoy and when the latter was advocating the calling of a convention to found an anti-slavery society in Illinois, he wrote Beecher asking his advice and urging him to lend his name to the call.[3] Beecher, however, hesitated preferring decidedly to stand on his own ground, "to join no society, and to speak as an individual." if he spoke at all. At the college commencement of 1837, Lovejoy was the guest of the president and the college; indeed the resolution to re-establish the press of the Observer at Alton after its second destruction was re-enforced by a conference of friends at Jacksonville on that occasion. It was unanimously the opinion of his college friends gathered at that conference that "in order to maintain the principles of free discussion, it was of great importance that the paper should be again established at Alton with Mr. Lovejoy as its editor."[4] On the occasion of this friendly visit the head of the college and Mr. Lovejoy discussed at greater length the

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[1] T. A. Post, Biog. of T. M. Post, 94.
[2] T. A. Post, Ibid, 96.
[3] E. Beecher, Narrative of Riots at Alton, 21.
[4] E. Beecher. Narrative of Riots at Alton, 24.

project for a state anti-slavery society. Mr. Beecher was anxious that the plans for the proposed convention should be changed so far as to permit all friends of free discussion, including even those who were not in favor of organizing an anti-slavery society, to attend. A better name for the organization, he suggested, would be "the society of inquiry on the subject of slavery." He wanted to remove as effectually as possible "causes of irritation" and danger of violence. Lovejoy did not sympathize with the president's opinions, but he apparently was convinced by some of his arguments. At any rate he yielded consent to the broadened scope of the convention, although he would not change the name of the proposed society. On these conditions, President Beecher was willing that his name should be used in the call for the convention at Alton.[1] It seems that when Lovejoy actually issued the call, he did nevertheless limit the invitation to those who believed "the system of American slavery to be sinful." This action was a disappointment to Mr. Beecher, and he went to Alton to remonstrate. Again he urged his friend to call all who believed in a frank discussion of the slavery issue into the conference. Friends of the movement seem to have been persuaded to adopt Beecher's point of view, and he accordingly ventured to publish in the "Alton Telegraph," notwithstanding the terms of the official invitation, an article suggesting that "all friends of free inquiry" should come.[2] Beecher held a nice theory, but the actual meeting of the convention demonstrated that calm, deliberate discussion of the slavery issue was impossible.

Meanwhile the State Synod of the Presbyterian Church held its meeting at Springfield. The delegates must have been vitally interested in the issue raised at Alton. Of the college faculty, Beecher and Professor Sturtevant were in attendance. The latter, although a warm friend and admirer of Lovejoy, did not approve of the establishment of his press at Alton, and when the subject was under discussion at an informal meeting of the delegates he was about the only person who advocated "the more moderate and cautious view of the situation."[3] Sturtevant argued, to quote his exact words, "that the bringing of another anti-slavery press to Alton would produce nothing but disaster." President Beecher was anxious to get a unanimous protest against the interference with the right of free discussion at Alton, but when it was apparent that some delegates would not favor such a vote, he withdrew the resolution.[4] Beecher advised all who could to attend the Alton convention.

A detailed account of the Alton convention and the events which led to the murder of Lovejoy, would be foreign to the purpose of this paper, but we are interested in the actions of the president of the college. Events proved the utter futility of his plans for the convention. That body had already convened when Mr. Beecher arrived in Alton. When he stepped into the meeting he discovered that the convention had been virtually "captured" by the opponents of Lovejoy. The

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[1] E. Beecher, Narrative of Riots at Alton, 25.
[2] E. Beecher, Ibid, 27.
[3] J. M. Sturtevant, Autobiography, 223.
[4] E. Beecher, Narrative of Riots at Alton, 28.

"friends of free inquiry" were mostly pro-slavery sympathizers, and they were claiming seats in the convention principally on the ground of Beecher's article in the Alton Telegraph. Dr. Gideon Blackburn, a trustee of the college, was chairman of the meeting. A committee on resolutions, consisting of Mr. Beecher, the Rev. Asa Turner, and W. F. Linder, a representative of the "free inquiry" element, was appointed.[1] When, however, the report of the committee was brought in, the convention refused to adopt the suggestions of the majority. On the contrary, it adopted a minority report in favor of pro-slavery views and adjourned *sine die*.[2] The hopes of the president of the college had not been realized. Disgusted with the tactics of the opponents of free discussion, he now became less compromising and exerted himself more strenuously to maintain the cause of a free press. At a meeting held at a private house, the State Anti-Slavery Society was organized. Mr. Beecher prepared the declaration of sentiments,[3] while Elihu Wolcott, a resident of Jacksonville, who was closely associated with the faculty of the college was elected president of the society. Among those elected vice presidents of the organization were the Rev. Asa Turner and Wm. Kirby, founders of the college. On Sunday, by special request of the newly organized society, Mr. Beecher preached a sermon on the subject of slavery. Again on Monday and Wednesday he preached to the citizens of Alton. Although the St. Louis papers called the addresses abolition sermons, their main thought seems to have been not so much the evils of slavery as the evils of a muzzled public opinion. Some violence was attempted during the delivery of the third sermon, but no serious outbreak occurred.[4]

President Beecher remained in Alton until the day of the tragedy. He went down to the warehouse with his friend in the early morning of the fatal seventh of November to witness the storing of the press. The two remained on guard until daylight, when they returned to the home of Mr. Lovejoy. After very solemn family prayer, Mr. Beecher bade good-bye to his friends and returned to Jacksonville.

The tragic culmination of the troubles at Alton demonstrated the serious nature of the conflict and brought into prominence many of the friends of the martyr. Through the activity of its president, the college was closely associated with the controversy, especially in the mind of the pro-slavery element. Criticism and vituperation were aimed at Mr. Beecher and vigorous protests made against the anti-slavery influence of the college faculty. The papers of St. Louis were violent in their attacks upon the president and the college. The Missouri Republican was particularly outspoken in its denunciations of Beecher and most frank in its advice to the college. Even before the death of Lovejoy it had regretted "that the head of Jacksonville college had become identified with the course of these fanatics." Policy and propriety, in the opinion of this newspaper, "should have induced the reverend gentleman to have been at least a silent spectator, rather than a busy participator in the movements of a party, whose every step is viewed with jealousy and every act attended with more or less excitement."[1] Beecher was held responsible for the trouble. Lovejoy would never have held out as he did if Beecher and others had not urged him to maintain his ground.[2] The paper published a communication signed by "a sucker" who claimed that he had heard Edward Beecher and his father, Lyman, pleading for funds in the East and that they had both argued that contributions to western colleges would advance the cause of abolitionism. The communication was headed:

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[1] Notes by Samuel Willard in H. Tanner's Martyrdom of Lovejoy, 221, 222.

[2] E. Beecher, Narrative of Riots at Alton, 28; Mo. Republican, Nov. 4, 1837.

[3] E. Beecher, Narrative of Riots at Alton, 38; Notes by Samuel Willard in H. Tanner's Martyrdom of Lovejoy, 222, 223.

[4] Mo. Republican, Nov. 4, 1837; H. Tanner's Martyrdom of Lovejoy, 136. "Mr. Beecher's discourse was interrupted for a short time in consequence of a stone being cast through one of the church windows, and he probably would have been mobbed then but for the fact that the mayor was in the meeting and we had made provision to repel any attack." See, also, testimony of Mayor J. M. Crum in W. S. Lincoln's Alton Trials, 37.

"EDWARD BEECHER — ABOLITIONISM — ILLINOIS COLLEGE."—The writer was convinced that "Messrs. Beechers were at heart abolitionists" and that they deserved "the execration of every friend of the American union." The writer was sure that "the people of the east, and particularly of New England, had been grossly humbugged in relation to the intellectual and religious wants of the West and by no individuals more effectually than the Messrs. Beechers." The public voice should speak to Beecher "in terms of thunder to vacate the presidency of the college."[3]

Friends of President Beecher in Jacksonville naturally resented these attacks upon the president of the college and "the Jacksonville News" insinuated that the attacks of the Missouri Republican were due to jealousy. According to the News, it was "the first opportunity the Republican has had to show its disappointment in consequence of seeing Illinois College go ahead of the St. Louis University, notwithstanding the latter institution receives so much patronage from "the Pope and the Popish clergy in St. Louis."[4] This insinuation from a Jacksonville paper led the Republican to devote another editorial to Mr. Beecher and his college. "The doctor is now esteemed by every one as an abolitionist and by the mass in a much more odious light than was the conduct of the deceased Lovejoy. Upon him rests the censure due for the late violent proceedings, and morally and politically he stands answerable for the fatal consequences which have followed. His conduct in the late meeting, on the second and third instant, shows that under the specious pretext of maintaining abstract principles, he was pushing forward his friend and co-laborer to certain and inevitable destruction. We have ever with pride and pleasure marked the advance of the Illinois College. Not that State but this and the whole West are interested in its prosperity and the sentiments and professions of those who may preside over its destiny. Many of the young men of Missouri have been sent there for their education, and under proper auspices, we trust this would continue to be the case; but with one so deeply identified with the abolition cause as the Rev. E. Beecher now is esteemed by all to be, it cannot expect either a continuance of the support of the citizens of this or of many of that state. For ourselves, we would much rather see a host of such men, as we esteem the president to be, sacrificed than that the prosperity of the college should in the least be affected by retaining him at its head."[1]

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[1] Mo. Republican, Nov. 4, 1837.
[2] Ibid., Nov. 18, 1837.
[3] Mo. Republican, Nov. 18, 1837.
[4] Ibid., Nov. 18, 1837.

But these criticisms did not alter the views of the faculty or frighten all of the members into silence. Professor Turner, as already indicated, took a very prominent part in the activities of the Underground Railway in Jacksonville. Together with certain students and radical abolitionists of the town, he helped several escaping slaves on their way to freedom. He tells in a reminiscent article in the Daily Journal of August 2, 1884, of his part in aiding three colored women to escape in 1846.[2] The women had run away from St. Louis in order to avoid being sold and shipped away from relatives and friends to a southern plantation. It was "a bitterly cold night in December" that Mr. Henry Irving came to Professor Turner's house and told him "that there were three colored women escaped from the St. Louis slave market whom their friends had secreted and concealed in an old abandoned cabin" on the outskirts of the town Turner cutting "a heavy hickory bludgeon from the wood pile" went forth to aid the escaping slaves. With much difficulty he piloted them to the house of a certain Azel Pierson whence they were eventually taken north to the Canadian line. When Professor Turner somewhat later in a prayer meeting boldly confessed his part in this affair an effort was made to secure his arrest but the matter apparently was not pressed.

Among the students, Samuel Willard,[2] William C. Carter and J. A. Coleman were strongly abolitionist in their sympathies; in fact, all three belonged to families prominent on the Underground Railway. One episode may be mentioned to illustrate student activity in the abolitionist cause. A southern lady, Mrs. Lisle, from Louisiana, came to Jacksonville to visit relatives. She brought with her a child and its nurse, a negro slave of about eighteen years. Illinois being free territory, the slave, it was contended, could legally claim her freedom. Probably through the assistance of friendly abolitionists, the colored girl became aware of this fact. Young Samuel Willard took her to the home of his college mate, W. C. Carter, and arrangements were made by Julius A. Willard, father of the student, to pilot the girl northward on the Underground Railway. The elder Willard had actually started with her towards Greenfield when the two were overtaken and brought back to Jacksonville. The girl was sent to St. Louis to be restored to her mistress who had proceeded to that place on her way home. But before the men who were conducting the fugitive back to her mistress arrived at their destination, they were overtaken by Mr. Parvin and the student J. A. Coleman, who shrewdly obtained a writ for the arrest of the men in charge of the girl. The men gave bond, however, and were allowed to proceed with the slave to St. Louis. The episode aroused great excitement in Jacksonville. A notice signed by thirty-six citizens called a public meeting "for the purpose of expressing their feeling in relation to the late outrage committed upon the property of a widow lady visiting our town by one of the citizens."[1] The meeting was held at the Court House February 23, 1843. and resolutions were passed reciting the details of the "abduction." The citizens gathered at this meeting feared that the public might imagine the town as a whole indorsed the action of the abolitionists and therefore took pains to rehearse the facts. The sentiments of the meeting were expressed in the following four resolutions:

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[1] Mo. Republican, Nov. 18, 1837.

[2] Jacksonville Daily Journal, Aug. 2, 1884.

[3] Willard's father was an intimate friend of E. P. Lovejoy. The family lived in Alton at the time of the tragedy.

"*Resolved*. That although a judicial investigation will be had upon the matter we feel it our privilege and our duty to say, that we do not consider this is a question of slavery or anti-slavery, or abolition or anti-abolition, but a flagrant and high-handed infraction of one of the penal laws of our land. Many of us believe that slavery as an institution is one which has been, and will be a curse upon the nation. Many of us have been raised in the midst of it, and from an honest conviction of its evils, have come out from among it. Yet we all admit that it is an institution recognized and protected by the laws of our common country; that it is an institution honored and respected by many persons whom we know to be as honest men, as patriotic citizens, and as devoted christians as the world can produce. The modus operandi of abating the evil of slavery is not the province of this meeting to point out. We only know that stealing them is not the most honest way.

Resolved, That the citizens of Jacksonville will at all times extend the hand of friendship and hospitality to their acquaintances in the South, and will be pleased to reciprocate the friendly relations of neighbors, ready at all times and on all occasions, promptly and efficiently to aid and protect them in the enjoyment of their property. And to that end, having reasons to believe that there are regular bands of abolitionists, organized with depots and relays of horses to run negroes through our State to Canada, and that one of them is in this town, we will form an Anti-Negro Stealing Society, as we heretofore formed an Anti-Horse Stealing Society, and that we will, in this neighborhood, break up the one as we broke up the other.

Resolved, That although young Willard who stole the negro, and young Carter who assisted to conceal the negro, and Coleman who pursued Messrs. Branson and Neely, are all students of Illinois College, and as yet have not been dealt with by said College; yet it may be proper for this meeting to abstain from any action in relation to the case, leaving it to the College to defend her own reputation.

Resolved, That these proceedings be signed by the President and Secretary, and that they be published in the Illinoisan, Missouri Republican, and that the Southern papers generally be requested to copy the same."[2]

The faculty of the college took no action against the students. However, Julius A. Willard and his son Samuel were indicted by the grand jury for a "misdemeanor for knowingly harboring and secreting a slave."[3]

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[1] Broadside in possession of Mrs. W. C. Carter. Mrs. Carter, a venerable lady now living in Jacksonville, is the widow of the student mentioned above. She has on several occasions spoken to my class in American history and has written a very interesting paper on the "Underground Railway" for the Morgan County Historical Association.

[2] Broadside in possession of Mrs. W. C. Carter of Jacksonville.

[3] S. Willard in letter to author, Feb. 9, 1908. Mr. Willard writes that it was suggested to him that since he was injuring the college, he should leave, but Prof. Post "warmly protested that such action on my part was not to be thought of; that he should be very sorry to have me leave the college, and that he was sure all his colleagues agreed with him."

The attorneys of the elder Willard filed a demurer to the indictment. Among other reasons mentioned in the demurer, it was claimed that the act under which the indictment was framed was in conflict with the constitution and laws of the United States, the Constitution of Illinois, and the ordinance of 1787, and therefore void. It was claimed further that by the law of the State, the negro was not a slave and therefore it was no violation of the criminal code to secret or harbor her. The court allowed the demurer except on one unessential point.[1] The State's Attorney did not prosecute the indictment in the case of the son.[2] A few years later, after he had graduated from college, young Willard was again indicted for secreting a slave. This time he pled guilty and the court entered a fine against him of one dollar and costs.[3]

It may be imagined that under these circumstances opposition to the college from the pro-slavery party did not decrease. Members of the faculty continued to suffer the criticisms that were the common lot of abolitionists or suspected abolitionists. Professor Sturtevant in a letter to a friend in 1844 laments the troubles of the faculty of the college.[4] "It was to the college," he writes, "a time of great and sore trial and especially to the faculty. It is certain that from that time to the present the faculty have passed few days which have not been rendered more or less unquiet by the relations of the college to the slavery question; while at some times our anxiety has been extreme. I would not consent to suffer what I have suffered on that subject in the last seven years, and am still suffering, for any other consideration than the most imperious sense of duty. When and how the Lord is to send us deliverance I know not. I think it can never come until God shall have taken some good (?) men to Heaven or made them ashamed of their complaisance to such a monstrous system as American slavery." The bitterness of the opposition to the college is further evident from a very threatening anonymous letter sent to Professor Turner from Louisville, Kentucky in 1842.[5] The letter came from a person who professed sympathy with the anti-slavery views of Mr. Turner. It warned him that an association of the slave holders in Missouri were conspiring to kidnap him and destroy the college. If kidnaping failed, the professor was comforted with the assurance that "a little poison, or a hemp cord on your necks, or a messenger of lead, or a bowie knife, would be certain in time." There may have been absolutely no ground for such a warning but the mere existence of the letter is an indication of the hostility towards the college.

We must avoid over-estimating the anti-slavery influence of the college. The pro-slavery element in Illinois and the South, always supersensitive to criticism may have exaggerated the active opposition of the college faculty to the institution of slavery. Furthermore, with the resignation of President Beecher and the accession of Professor Sturtevant to the presidency, the college possibly became more conservative on the slavery issue. Some persons now alive who are familiar with the attitude of the public towards the college before and during the war, do not recall it as an "abolition institution."[1] On the other hand, they may simply have been disappointed because the college did not maintain a more radical position on the slavery question. From the facts presented it is clear that Illinois College was one of the potent anti-slavery forces in the State. In spite of severe criticism and the loss of patronage, the college maintained its anti-slavery attitude. Through its faculty and the young men who had studied within its walls, like Herndon, Willard, Fagg, Yates, and a host of others, the college exerted an influence that powerfully molded the public opinion of the State on the slavery issue.

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[1] Mss. Records of Circuit Court of Morgan County. Indictment. The People v. Julius A. Willard, filed March 17, 1843; Ibid., The People v. Samuel Willard, filed March 18, 1843.

[2] Mss. Records, Oct. 24, 1843. People v. Samuel Willard. "This day came the State's attorney and entered a *nolli prosequi* to the indictment in this cause."

[3] Ibid., May 29, 1845.

[4] Mss. Letter. J. M. Sturtevant to Thos. Lippincott, March 13, 1844.

[5] Mss. Letter to Prof. J. B. Turner, dated Louisville, Ky., Sept. 10, 1842.

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[1] E. g., Mrs. W. C. Carter in a letter to the author, dated Jacksonville, January 17, 1908, seems "greatly surprised to learn that Illinois College was ever at any time, anywhere, called an 'abolition college,' as Judge Fagg describes."

MEMORIAL TO JUDGE DAVID McCULLOCH.

By Eliot Callender.

As an almost next door neighbor for thirty-five years, of Judge David McCulloch, and as a brother-officer for the same length of time, in the church of which he was such a leading and devoted member, I find it almost impossible to frame a memorial that will do justice, in the time assigned me, to this most distinguished and remarkable man. And so, for the sake of condensation, and to free this paper from possible charge of bias born of a generation's friendship and intimacy, I have not hesitated to draw freely from the proceedings of the United States and Peoria circuit courts, relative to Judge McCulloch's death.

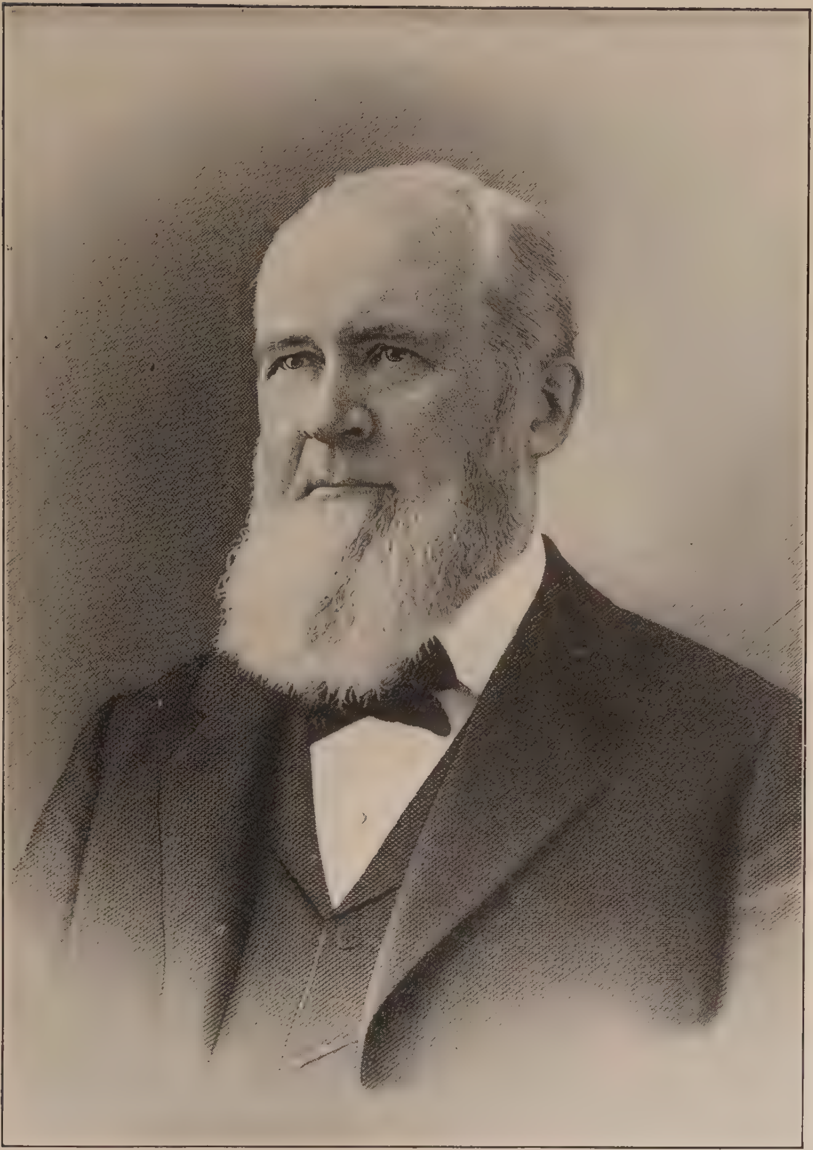
CHRONOLOGY.

David McCulloch was born near Big Spring, Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, January 25, 1832; received his early education in one of the primitive log school-houses of that period; entered Marshall College, Mercerberg, Pennsylvania in 1848.

In 1852, he opened a classical school in the basement of the old First Methodist Church at Peoria, Illinois. Two years later, he studied law in the office of Manning & Merriam, two of the most celebrated lawyers of the State. In the fall of 1855, he was elected school commissioner for Peoria county, a position he filled for two terms, six years.

Admitted to the bar September 2, 1858; appointed prosecuting attorney by the judge, to fill out Charles P. Taggart's term of office 1865 and 1866. Elected circuit judge, and re-elected in 1879. Assigned to duty on the appellate bench, serving for six years. In 1880, elected President of the State Bar Association. In 1883, he was an unsuccessful candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court in opposition to Justice A. M. Craig. Resumed the practice of law in 1895. In 1898 Judge McCulloch was appointed by Judge Grosscup of the United States District Court, referee in bankruptcy for Peoria, Tazewell, Woodford, Marshall, Stark and Putnam counties. Reappointed in December, 1900 by Judge Kohlsaat, which position he held up to the time of his death.

A memorial to Judge McCulloch must necessarily chronicle the fact that in his death there passed from the pale of human existence, a most unique and impressive character "Whether we consider his as a citizen, or as a judge, or as a lawyer, in his social life or religious life; it can be



David McCulloch

truthfully said, his was a striking figure amongst those that were just and feared not, and all the ends they aimed at, were their country's, their God's and truth." Early in his youth he set his face towards righteousness, and ever afterward through a long life he hewed to that line, let the chips fall where they may. To those who really knew him, the thought that temptation of any kind or character or strength could make him falter or turn from the straight and narrow path, an iota, seemed simply impossible. Our nearest and best loved friends, those we admire, respect and love, frequently pain us by acts of weakness or thoughtlessness—Judge McCulloch, never. He passed away at a ripe old age, without one blot on his escutcheon that his nearest friends were ever able to discover. A peer amongst the few that "face life manfully and live as best they can a life in harmony with God's wishes." He absolutely knew no such thing as compromise. He did not seek friends, nor did he avoid them.

A close and hard student, an incessant worker, he seemed to have neither time nor disposition for social pleasures. Yet, no one ever approached him for help or advice, that did not only receive it, but discovered that his apparently cold exterior but masked a kind and tender heart. At the memorial exercises in Peoria, one after another of the younger attorneys arose and gave testimony to the debt of gratitude they owed him for advice and counsel he gave them unrecompensed, when they were in difficulty with their cases. Often he would put in days of his valuable time, looking up law points for others, in which he was not interested a penny's worth; and when remonstrated with by those who had raised the question, he would reply, "But I want to know, myself, what the law says on this point."

He was as far removed as the east is from the west, from that class of attorneys that see nothing but the fees in the case. He seemed to care nothing for money, and died a comparatively poor man, when his talents and experience would have yielded large returns if he had not been so utterly devoid of the spirit of commercialism that controls at the present time. What was right as the law defined it, not how much money there was in it, ruled this great jurist all his life. He scorned to mislead a jury, and had no consideration or patience for a Pettifogger. The law and the Gospel settled everything with him. If his opinion conflicted with the law, it was no longer his opinion; he must be wrong. With the unadulterated Calvinism born in him, no rule of faith or practice was too trying to be accepted by him, if he was satisfied that a "Thus saith the Lord" was behind it.

He early found himself out of touch with the rising generation, both at the bar and in the church; but while his warm personal friends might have been few, he had the universal respect of all. Consistency even with those with whom we differ, challenges our respect. Judge McCulloch's life, like the magnetic needle, pointed but one undeviating way, and hypocracy, vacillation and uncertainty were unknown to him. Like Enoch of old, he walked with God and feared not.

It has been well stated, that while Judge McCulloch was upon the appellate bench of the third district, no court in the State of Illinois ever commanded higher respect for its decisions than that court with Judges McCulloch, Davis and Higbee of the bench. They were, perhaps, three of the most independent judges that ever sat on any bench—utterly and absolutely fearless every one of them, of consequences. Not one of those three judges ever held out his finger when cases were presented before him either upon the circuit court bench or upon the appellate court bench, to take the pulse of the public to see whether a decision would be popular or otherwise. It was "Thus saith the law" and that was enough for them.

Judge McCulloch's life was one of incessant activity, I never knew so busy a man, and at the same time one who had so much time to devote to any matter that came up that was of interest to him. He was at work always. As Hon. Geo. T. Page in the memorial meeting of the Peoria County Bar states: "The lines and work of his life did not end in the practice of the law, but like some great river that runs on to the sea watering on its way, the flocks and the fields—quietly and unostentatiously, Judge McCulloch went about this life touching, in an undercurrent if you please, the lives of many men and the lives of many institutions. He was, as stated by Dr. A. M. Little who preached his funeral sermon, "deeply interested in many things which many of us know nothing about, but which lifted up and strengthened the lives of many men in different walks of life."

The temperance cause, early and late, in this State had a defender in him without fear and without reproach. His love for research soon allied him with the Illinois State Historical Society. He was a contributor to General Palmer's "Bench and Bar of Illinois." His history extending over fifty years of the Second Presbyterian Church of Peoria, its members and its work, was the labor of years of painstaking research. His history of Peoria county is a monument that will perpetuate his memory as long as time shall last.

But this long and busy life ended, and who shall come up to fill its place? Our loss, as we reflect on all he was and all he did, seems irreparable.

As Judge Slemmons, in the proceedings in the United States Circuit Court says: "The weight of advancing years, makes many men sluggish, and creates an aversion to study and investigation—a tendency to rely on knowledge previously acquired, rather than labor necessary to keep abreast of the latest and best thought. Not so with Judge McCulloch. He was as careful and methodical in his research in later years, as when he was in the vigor of his earlier manhood. He was a man of diversified talents, a learned and upright judge, an historian of unusual ability and an authority on church and ecclesiastical history and procedure.

"He was called home in the bright sunshine of the morning, before the sun had reached its meridian glory, talking cheerfully of the future and his plans to resume the activities of life. Yet he was, and always was, prepared for the summons—however suddenly it might come.

"It may be forgotten in the future that Judge McCulloch ever held a judicial position or other places of honor and trust, but it can never be forgotten by anyone who ever knew him, that he died without a blot on his character.'

How beautiful it is for a man to die
Upon the walls of Zion; to be called
Like a watchworn and weary sentinel
To put his armor off and rest in Heaven.

It seems to me appropriate to add to this memorial, the touching tribute of the Peoria County Bar penned by the Hon. John S. Stevens.

MEMORIAL BY THE BAR TO JUDGE DAVID McCULLOCH.

Death has again invaded our ranks and removed from our midst Judge David McCulloch, the oldest member of our bar. It came to him in the full possession of the strength of his stalwart manhood, and in the possession of undimmed, unimpaired mental powers, all of which he was over-using in the practice of his chosen profession.

For more than forty-five years Judge McCulloch devoted himself to the study and practice of law in this community, and to judicial duties upon the bench, which he ornamented and honored. He belonged to that class of lawyers who "loved justice and loved the law as the means by which justice is done." He cared very little for the commercial aspects of his profession, but had a profound respect for the law, and an earnest honest desire to see it administered in all its purity and effectiveness in the interest of justice. He was an ardent, diligent student, and an indefatigable worker, often finding his only compensation in the satisfaction resulting from his increased knowledge of law, and its enforcement in the interests of humanity.

In his profession he was a man of the highest probity, never stooping to or countenancing any of the so-called tricks of the profession, seeking to win only in the open, fair and righteous administration of law. He was above, and abhorred trickery in every form. His sensitiveness in this direction often made him seem intolerant of and impatient with the conduct of some of his professional brethren. But he was never actuated by personal malice, or by jealousy of any of his associates. He was intolerant of success won in any other way than by the administration of the law, righteously and justly, in vindicating the right and punishing the wrong.

As a judge, both upon the Nisi Prius and Appellate Benches, he won the esteem, confidence and love of the local bar, and of the entire bar of the State, with which, as judge, he was brought in contact.

A few years ago he was touched by an unutterable sorrow in the loss of his beloved wife and his only daughter—a sorrow to be borne quietly and silently only by one possessed of his abiding and unalterable faith in the religion which he had professed and embodied in his life and acts during all the years. Sustained by that faith in a reunion, and made more humane and tolerant by the things he suffered, he turned his face to the front, and resolutely and uncomplainingly devoted all his energies to the practice of his profession, and so continued until death came to him suddenly and painlessly, opening to him the reunion to which he constantly looked and for which he hoped.

Our bar has lost a profound, upright, honest and honorable lawyer; the city a man in every sense of the word—one who always stood for what was best in its social, civic and political life; the church of his choice a faithful, devoted Christian, whose faith in its teachings was always unwavering, and who adorned in his consistent life its belief and its doctrines.

We, the surviving members of the bar, here now place of record this sincere testimonial to the life, character and work of our departed brother.

WILLIAM KINNEY—A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

By James Affleck.

William Kinney was born near Louisville, Kentucky, in 1781, and came to Illinois with his father and mother in 1793, the family settling at New Design, in Monroe county. He was the eldest himself. Mrs. James Marney, Mrs. Postlewait, and Mrs. Joseph Lemen were three of his sisters. Mrs. Lemen, much to the credit of her husband, was sent to school after she was married, and learned to read and write, and became an intelligent woman; and died the mother of a large and respectable family. William Kinney was a gay, wild boy, with good natural abilities but illiterate, and with his brothers and sisters, all grew up to maturity without any schooling whatever; for the principal reason, perhaps, that there were no schools for them to attend. Mr. Kinney was married at the age of nineteen. After this event he discovered the need of some education, having sobered down and gone to work for a living. His wife, with some assistance from John Messenger, taught him to read, write and cipher as far as the "rule of three," and from that beginning he became very intelligent and one of the most influential characters of the day.

In 1803 he selected a beautiful site for a home, four miles northeast of Belleville, on the road to Lebanon, and to the eighty acres of land he first entered there, he gradually added more until his home farm comprised six hundred and forty acres. Gov. Reynolds says, in his "Pioneer history of Illinois," "in 1809, Mr. VonPhul (a merchant of St. Louis) persuaded Kinney to take some few articles of merchandise and sell them; if he could not sell them he might return them to VonPhul again. After some hesitation, he took the goods. They consisted of a few bolts of domestic manufactured cotton cloth, and Kinney packed them before him on his horse from St. Louis to his farm." From this modest commencement, his mercantile business grew to large proportions. He built a storeroom on his place and stocked it with a large assortment of such goods as were then mostly in demand. He traded in everything that had any value in it, and always at a profit. He lived well and his hospitality was known far and near; and he kept an ample supply of liquor on his sideboard, his house was well patronized and often crowded with social friends. About the time he commenced merchandising he experienced a change of heart and joined the Baptist church;

and soon thereafter became a Baptist preacher. He was a very effective speaker and had a good deal of strong natural uncultured eloquence. As he grew in prosperity and popularity, his zeal for the church subsided and was replaced by a mania for official position. He went into politics with all the zest of his ardent nature; and was elected senator to represent St. Clair county in the first General Assembly in 1818. James Lemen, Jr. succeeded him in the second General Assembly; and he was again elected to the Senate in 1822 to represent St. Clair county in the third General Assembly, and James Lemen again succeeded him in the fourth, in 1824. In 1826, Mr. Kinney was elected Lieutenant Governor at the same time that Ninian Edwards was elected (the third) Governor of Illinois. Mr. Kinney's success in politics proved ultimately his greatest misfortune, as it inflamed his aspirations and at the same time caused him to contract habits of dissipation that undermined his energies, impaired his intellect and finally wrought his social and financial ruin. In politics he was ultra pro-slavery in sentiment and a local leader of the party then styling itself Democratic-Republican, the progenitor of the Jackson Democracy of later years. In 1830 Mr. Kinney was a candidate for Governor in opposition to John Reynolds, and was defeated. In 1834 he was again a candidate for Governor against General Joseph Duncan and suffered a far worse defeat than in 1830.

But for his exuberant convivial disposition and consequent unfortunate habits, Mr. Kinney would probably have been the wealthiest citizen of St. Clair county and one of its most popular men. He was a slaveholder and extensive farmer, and shipped (by wagons) large amounts of produce to Cahokia and St. Louis. His domestic relations were all that one in his social position could desire. He had an amiable and intelligent wife and six children; three sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Samuel Kinney graduated from West Point, having chosen the military profession; but shortly afterwards died of consumption. His second son, George D., a bright and promising young man, died a short time after the close of the Black Hawk war, in which he served as a member of Capt. Adam W. Snyder's company. His third son, William C. Kinney, studied law, and practiced that profession in Belleville until his death. He, at one time, represented his native county in the Legislature. His wife was the daughter of Hon. Elias K. Kane who died while representing Illinois in the United States Senate. Col. Kinney's eldest daughter was the wife of Col. John Thomas one of St. Clair county's wealthiest men, a thorough business man and active politician, having represented St. Clair county repeatedly in both branches of the Legislature. Gov. Kinney's second daughter married John Adams, a neighbor farmer; and after his death she married his brother, Parker Adams. The youngest daughter married Mr. George A. Bradford a merchant of Belleville, and died but two years ago, the last survivor of Gov. Kinney's family.

Another great misfortune that befell Gov. Kinney was his election by the Legislature, in 1836-7 as a member of the Board of Public Works; and by the board on its organization to its presidency. The habits he had contracted totally unfitted him for the grave responsibilities of that important position, and he became the easy prey and dupe of shrewd, designing scoundrels. During his incumbency in this office, several millions of dollars were expended in public works—particularly the Central Railroad, as then known, which were all abandoned, almost bankrupting the State, and casting all over it a general financial blight. While president of the Board of Public Works, Mr. Kinney was instrumental in bringing Lyman Trumbull to Illinois from Connecticut and installing him in a subordinate position in the office of the board. In the liquidation and settlement of the board, after the crash and collapse Gov. Kinney was sued by the State for funds that he could not account for satisfactorily. This litigation was continued until after his death, and even after the death of his son, William C. Kinney, the executor of his estate, resulting in its total bankruptcy, without reimbursing any of the State's losses. With age, Gov. Kinney's habits of dissipation became more and more confirmed. He was wanting in moral courage to overcome his disappointments and reverses. Death kindly relieved him of his unhappy conditions, at his home, in St. Clair county, on the first day of October, 1843.

January 1, 1900, Belleville, Ill.

PART III.

Contributions to State History.

JAMES HARVEY RALSTON.

FORGOTTEN STATESMEN OF ILLINOIS.

James Harvey Ralston.

By Dr. J. F. Snyder.

Early in the eighteenth century the Ralston and Neely families emigrated to the United States from Londonderry, one of the nine counties constituting the province of Ulster, in the northern part of Ireland. They stopped temporarily in the state of New York; then moving to the western wilderness settled permanently in the region now known as Bourbon county in Kentucky. They were the progeny of intermingled Scotch and Irish—the Ralstons tracing their descent, according to their family records, "from Ralph, son of MacDuff who slew Macbeth and restored the rightful monarch to the throne of Scotland," while the Neely's "sprung from the Clan MacNeil, known in Scottish history and romance as the 'Lords of the Isles,' the histories of these families filling a large space in the annals of Scotland. Many marriages have occurred between them in succeeding generations, and their kinship and clanship are marked by strong physical resemblances, and similar trails of character." Among the products of the American interblending of those families in our recent history were Gen. John J. Neely, Judge James H. Ralston, J. Neely Johnson who was elected Governor of California in 1854, and others who served their country with distinction both in civil and military life.

One of the several intermarriages mentioned of members of those noted families was that of John Ralston, a young Kentucky farmer and Miss Elizabeth Neely, who were united in Wedlock, in Bourbon county, near the close of the eighteenth century. Though environed from their birth by the institution of slavery, young Ralston and wife were not of the patrician class, or included in the blue-grass aristocracy, as they owned no slaves, or possessed, besides their farm, little more than sound health, industry, and contentment. From their prolific union were born, as the years went by, fourteen children—four sons and ten daughters—an exuberant fulfillment of their sole mission of life. To rear and properly train that swarm severely taxed the resources of the parents; but the youngsters, as they grew up, scattered away to search out for themselves their destined spheres in the world wherein to achieve their individual fortunes. Occupying no higher station himself than that of an ordinary farmer, John Ralston seems to have been ambitious that his sons should rise to a higher intellectual level than mere tillers of the soil. Or, it may be that he perceived in them indications of superior talents that he considered it his duty to develop at the cost of any reasonable sacrifice to himself it might involve. Possibly, and very probably, he may have been influenced in so doing by the boys giving free expression to their aspirations to higher mental culture, and more refined vocations than his. At any rate, after duly discussing the matter with his wife, he determined to give his son, Thomas Neely Ralston, a thorough education which would prepare him for the ministry. In that course he was doubtless guided by the boy's natural predilection for the church, inherited from some far-back Scotch Presbyterian ancestor. In his limited financial circumstances, with a rapidly increasing family, principally of girls, to give the boy a collegiate education was really a grave undertaking for John Ralston. However, by diligent labor, economy and frugality, he accomplished it. Thomas graduated at Transylvania, was ordained, attained the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and for many years was a famous pulpit orator and divine of Lexington, Kentucky. Another son, Joseph Neely Ralston, born January 25th, 1801, was also educated at Transylvania University, choosing for his calling in life the profession of medicine. He left Kentucky in 1832 and located in Quincy, Illinois, where he continued the practice of medicine until his death, in June, 1876. Of Dr. Ralston, Hon. Wm. A. Richardson says, "He was one of my patron saints, a fine gentleman and noble man, respected and loved by every one." He is thus mentioned in the *History of Adams County, Illinois,* published in 1876, "Of his eminence in the profession it is sufficient to say that for more than forty years he held a leading position among the physicians of Quincy and Adams county. He was one of the founders, and the first president of the Adams County Medical Society, and was at several subsequent periods re-elected to that position. Weighed down through his long life with the cares and anxieties of the most exacting of professions he never forgot the duties of a citizen, maintaining to the last his interest in public affairs. Identified with every movement promising to promote the public welfare, he was keenly alive to the educational interests of his adopted home, enjoying a leading social position, and maintaining always a large practice. He was rather tall and spare in figure, dignified in carriage, courteous almost to punctiliousness in manner, clean and precise in speech, self-poised, quick in his perceptions, steadfast in his convictions, sagacious in counsel—the sturdy virtues which commanded for him universal respect and confidence."

William H. Ralston, a third, and younger son of John and Elizabeth (Neely) Ralston, was a lawyer, who also resided for awhile in Quincy, then moved to Leavenworth, in Kansas, where he became quite eminent in his profession, and was a very prominent citizen.

James Harvey Ralston, the subject of this sketch, was born in Bourbon county, Kentucky, on the 12th of October, 1807. His boyhood years were passed on his father's farm, not in luxury and idleness; but, early initiated in the arts and toil of agriculture, he grew up to manhood as an ordinary farm laborer, industrious, energetic and self-reliant. A prominent trait of his youth was pride of character, inciting a desire to learn, in order to improve his mental and social condition. But he could only occasionally be spared from his post on the farm for a few weeks in the winter time to attend the country schools in his neighborhood, where little more than the simplest rudimentary branches were taught. What he acquired there increased his yearning for more learning; but he understood his father's situation well enough to know that the paternal resources would be totally exhausted by the heavy expenses incurred in educating his brothers, Thomas and Joseph, so that no assistance for himself could be expected from that quarter, or cessation of his farm work be permitted, to advance his own schooling. Driven, therefore, to depend upon his own efforts, he resolutely applied himself to study at home, taking advantage of every spare moment—by fire-light at early dawn, and aid of the grease lamp, or tallow dip, at night when the day's drudgery was ended—to enlarge his store of knowledge from the few books within his reach. With such restricted opportunities, and no systematic instruction, his education was necessarily very defective. That drawback, however, occasioned no depression of his ambition, or of faith in his own abilities. Having one brother in the ministry and another in the medical profession, neither of whom, in his estimation, was his superior, notwithstanding their higher education, and unwilling that he should in any way cast discredit upon the family, he aspired to rank with them in literary and social position. Thereupon, without the essential foundation of scholastic training he embarked in the study of law.

Arriving at the age of legal emancipation from servitude to his father, he left Kentucky in the fall of 1828, and made his way to Quincy, Illinois to begin there the shaping and upbuilding of his own career. One of his sisters, married to a Kentuckian named Stamper, who had preceded him to Quincy, was probably the influence that induced him to settle in that frontier village. History is silent regarding the occupation he engaged in for the first two years after getting there—if in any; but that during that time he steadfastly kept his high aims in view, and persistently continued his legal studies there, must be inferred from the following record in Vol. B. of the Law, Chancery and People's Records in the circuit clerk's office of Adams county, Illinois; "At a circuit court begun and held at the court house in Quincy for the county of Adams and State of Illinois on Thursday, the twenty-first day of October in the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and thirty. Present, the Hon. Richard M. Young, judge of the fifth judicial circuit of the State of Illinois. On motion of George Logan, Esq., an attorney of this court, James H. Ralston, Esq., appeared and was sworn as an attorney and counsellor at law, he having presented a license according to law, signed by two of the judges of the Supreme Court."

A short time before his admission to the bar, Mr. Ralston was elected a justice of the peace in and for the county of Adams, and served in that capacity for three or four years, or until he became well established as a lawyer in the higher courts. Responding, in the spring of 1832, to the call of Gov. Reynolds for a force of armed men to repel the hostile incursion of Black Hawk and his band, Mr. Ralston at once volunteered and was enrolled, along with Orville H. Browning, a brother attorney of Quincy, as a private in Captain Wm. G. Flood's company of mounted riflemen, which subsequently was incorporated in the second brigade commanded by Brigadier General Sam. Whiteside. On the company's roster he is reported, "Absent on duty," and was honorably mustered out of service, at the mouth of Fox river, on the 28th of May, 1832. His career as an Indian fighter was brief and not very eventful, but from another record at Quincy it is learned that a few months later he again enlisted, in a more peaceful cause and for a longer period of service. That record states that on the 11th day of October, 1832, James H. Ralston was united in marriage with Miss Jane Alexander, daughter of Col. Sam. Alexander, a well known substantial citizen of Adams county. She was born on the 6th day of October, 1811, and was at the time of her marriage, a sprightly, intelligent, and very attractive girl. Before the approaching winter had set in, Attorney Ralston and bride were settled down to housekeeping on their own account in a modest home near the northeast corner of Eighth and Hampshire streets, in Quincy, where the residence of Mr. Nehemiah Bushnell now stands, adjacent to the post office. They were, for the following fourteen years among the most conspicuous and highly esteemed members of Quincy's best society, taking a leading part in all social gaieties and entertainments, as well as in every public movement for the improvement of the town and welfare of its citizens.

Esq. Ralston began the practice of law in the courts presided over by Judge Richard M. Young, whose circuit originally embraced all the territory between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers from the mouth of the latter to Lake Michigan. Of that bar he was for many years, excepting when in public office, one of its busiest and most successful practitioners. For some time he was in partnership with Almeron Wheat, and later with Joseph Warren, Quincy lawyers of marked ability. In the terrible epidemic of Asiatic cholera brought west by General Winfield Scott's troops about the close of the Black Hawk war, which visited Quincy as it spread swiftly down the Mississippi the next year (1833) with appalling fatality, about its first victim in that village was Mrs. Sarah Stamper, sister of Dr. Joseph and J. H. Ralston.

In August, 1836, James H. Ralston and George Galbraith were elected to represent Adams county in the lower house of the tenth General Assembly—that historic legislature made famous by its enactment of the wild system of internal improvements that proved such a disastrous failure. Mr. Galbraith died during the first session, (which convened at Vandalia on December 5, 1836, and adjourned March 6, 1837), and his vacancy was supplied by election of Archibald Williams at a special election in the spring. That legislature is also famous for the number of its talented members who later achieved high distinction in the public affairs of Illinois and of the nation. In the senate were Orville H. Browning, Cyrus Edwards, Wm. J. Gatewood, Archer G. Herndon, Henry I. Mills, William Thomas, John D. Whiteside and John D. Wood. With Mr. Ralston in the house were James Semple, James Shields, Robert Smith, Edward D. Baker, Milton Carpenter, Newton Cloud, Richard M. Cullom, John Dougherty, Stephen A. Douglas, Jesse K. Dubois, Ninian W. Edwards, Abraham Lincoln, Augustus C. French, Wm. L. D. Ewing, Wm. A. Richardson, John A. McClernand, Usher F. Linder and John Moore: names interwoven everlastingly in the fabric of our State and national history, an aggregation of intellectual strength seldom, if ever, equalled and never surpassed, in any other legislative assembly of Illinois. And yet, the State, with all its immense resources, was forty years in recovering from results of the stupendous folly of their legislation in that one session.

Mr. Ralston, of course, voted for the internal improvement measures. He would have been ostracized by his party and by the community he represented had he opposed them. As was the result with all his eminent associates in that legislature who voted, as he did, for the crazy scheme, its total and disastrous failure subjected him to no public censure or loss of popularity. On the 14th of December, 1836, the tenth General Assembly in joint session elected Hon. Richard M. Young U. S. Senator for the full term of six years to succeed Hon. W. L. D. Ewing who was elected by the preceding legislature for the unexpired term of Hon. Elias K. Kane deceased. Up to the time of his promotion to the national senate Judge Young had presided over the old fifth, or Quincy, judicial circuit since his election to that position in 1828. His resignation immediately after the senatorial election left the Judgeship vacant, which the Legislature proceeded to supply, by ballot, in joint session on the 14th of January, 1837, with the following result: Sixty-three ballots were cast for James H. Ralston, forty-two for Wm. A. Minshall, and nineteen for George P. W. Maxwell. The commission for Judge Ralston's new office, the duties of which he at once entered upon, was dated February 4, 1837. If he resigned his seat in the legislature when elevated to the circuit bench no record of that fact can be found; no one was elected to succeed him in that General Assembly, and his name does not appear in the house journal of its second session, held for the purpose of legalizing suspension by the banks of specie payments, which met at Vandalia on the 10th and adjourned on the 22d of July, 1837.

Judge Ralston was but twenty-nine years and three months old when elected to the Judgeship—a young man of striking personality, six feet tall, straight and well-formed, with auburn hair, blue eyes and faultless features. Polite and agreeable in address, he was as courtly and dignified in bearing and manners as the Virginia gentleman of colonial days. In disposition he was sociable, kind and generous, though impulsive, spirited and ambitious. Strictly honest in personal affairs and the discharge of public duties, actuated in every relation of life by a high sense of honor, he was an eminently respectable citizen, moral, sober, and of unblemished character. In some instances, no doubt, his judgment was at fault, but in the main his motives were pure, and he perhaps never wilfully violated his conceptions of right and justice. He was a plausible, showy, man in public, entertaining in conversation, and a fluent, impressive speaker, though not invariably grammatical in his language, or exactly correct in his logic or rhetoric. As before stated, his early education was only rudimentary, and tho greatly improved in after years by promiscuous reading and desultory study, he probably never was a student of close, systematic application, consequently his learning in some directions had advanced little beyond general principles and common-sense deductions. A prominent characteristic of Judge Ralston is said to have been his firmness and determination of purpose; yet, he was weak in resisting flattery and blandishments; and was easily influenced by those in whom he had implicit confidence.

He was a member of the Masonic Order, but not attached to any church, having very liberal views on the subject of man's so-called spiritual nature and future responsibilities. He was fond of music, of gay, lively society, and had quite a taste for literature; poetry particularly, which he often quoted. One of his favorite quotations, consonant with his own sentiments, from the tragedy entitled "Pizarro," was this:

"Should the scales of justice poise doubtfully, let mercy touch the beam and turn the balance to the gentler side."

As all contemporaries of Judge Ralston of that period have long since gone to their final rest, the only means accessible for forming an estimate of his ability as a jurist are the records of his court. The unavoidable inference to be drawn from them, notwithstanding the scurrilous criticism of Gov. Ford,[1] is that he acquitted himself as a judge with credit and honor. During the two and a half years he presided over the Quincy circuit very few of his decisions were taken to the Supreme Court on error or appeal and of those few, only two were reversed.[2] He may in some instances have erred too inflexible adherence to forms and technicalities; but certainly nothing can now be found in the history of the old fifth judicial circuit to sustain the malignant strictures of Gov. Ford. The annual salary of circuit judges at that time was seven hundred dollars, a sum less than the wages received by some of the skilled mechanics. Dissatisfied with that meagre pay, and assuming that he could earn a larger revenue by the practice of his profession, Judge Ralston resigned his position on the bench, on the 31st of August, 1839, and resumed his place at the bar.

Gov. Ford's vilification of Judge Ralston evidently did not express the estimate placed upon him, at the time, by the people of Adams county. His judicial services, instead of disparaging him in public opinion, seem to have increased his popularity in that community. In 1838 a majority of Whigs were elected in both branches of the Illinois Legislature, and that party came nearer electing its State ticket than it ever did before or afterwards. Thomas Carlin, the candidate of the Democrats for Governor, being elected over Cyrus Edwards the Whig, by the majority of only 996. Two years later, in 1840, the Whigs made stupendous efforts to retain their ascendency gained in 1838, and also to carry the State for their national ticket, Harrison and Tyler. The Democrats were as equally determined to regain their lost supremacy in the Legislature and to secure the electoral vote of the State for their presidential candidate, VanBuren. In order to sway the people in their favor both parties presented their strongest and most available men for local candidates in each of the several counties. In Adams county the Whigs brought out Archibald Williams to head their county ticket as their candidate for State Senator. He was an able man, well known all over the Military Tract; was a volunteer in the Black Hawk war, stood high in the esteem and confidence of the people of Adams county whom he had served well as Senator in the eighth and ninth General Assemblies and as a member of the House in the tenth General Assembly in which he received a respectable vote for U. S. Senator, but was defeated by Hon. Richard M. Young.

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[1] Ford's History of Illinois, p. 307.
[2] First and Second Scammon Reports.

After mature deliberation the Democrats of Adams county selected Judge Ralston to oppose him. The political campaign of 1840 far surpassed any in the previous history of the State for strenuous exertions and excitement, for expensive and spectacular displays, and impassioned oratory, particularly by the Whigs. In Adams county the fury of the contest centered in the race for State Senator. In their eagerness to elect Williams the Whigs exceeded all bounds of legitimate party contention, carrying their opposition to Judge Ralston to the extreme of personal enmity. He was invulnerable however, to all their attacks, and at the election, on Aug. 3, 1840, was elected, receiving 1,546 votes to 1,447 cast for Williams, a clear majority of 99. At the November election of that year he was also elected presidential Elector for that district.

The first, or called, session of the twelfth General Assembly convened at Springfield on the 23d of November, and adjourned December 5th. The second, or regular session commenced on the following Monday, December 7th, and adjourned March 1, 1841. Judge Ralston was there again in company with many of the leading politicians and statesmen of the State, some of whom, as himself, had been promoted since their service in the House, four years before, to seats in the upper chamber. With him in the Senate were Edward D. Baker, Richard M. Cullom, Wm. J. Gatewood, John Moore, Archer G. Herndon, Wm. A. Richardson, Adam W. Snyder and John D. Wood. Among the great commoners in the House were Wm. H. Bissell, John J. Hardin, John Dougherty, Cyrus Edwards, Joseph Gillespie, W. L. D. Ewing, Wickliffe Kitchell, Abraham Lincoln, John A. McClernand, Lewis W. Ross, Lyman Trumbull and David M. Woodson. There was in each branch of the Legislature a decided majority of Democrats. The Governor, Thomas Carlin, and Lieutenant Governor, Stinson H. Anderson, were Democrats, and of that party General W. L. D. Ewing was elected Speaker of the House defeating Abraham Lincoln the Whig candidate. Three of the justices of the Supreme Court, however, were Whigs, and but one a Democrat.

In the seventy working days of that regular session of the twelfth General Assembly a surprising amount of legislation was enacted, which comprised some measures of weighty importance to the public, and others of questionable policy. Political parties at that time were divided chiefly upon the bank question. As a part of the great internal improvement scheme of 1836 the State was made a stock holder in the State bank to the amount of $3,100,000.[1] The banks were prohibited by law from issuing notes of less denomination than five dollars; and the law of 1838 provided that any bank having suspended specie payments, and failed to resume such payments before adjournment of the next session of the Legislature thereafter, would forfeit its charter and close its doors unless that session of the Legislature sanctioned the suspension and permitted it to continue. All the banks had suspended specie payments, and had not resume the paying of specie when the twelfth Legislature came together. The Democrats, supreme in that body, were divided on the State banking system. The radicals among them favored enforcing the forfeiture penalty and closing up the banks at once; but the other faction, known by the radicals as the "week-kneed" voted with the Whigs, not only to legalize suspension of the banks, but to permit them to issue bills of less denomination than five dollars. Judge Ralston was one of the "week-kneed" and in that matter voted with the Whigs.

Though really hostile to the banks, and loyal to all the main principles of the party, Judge Ralston and the other "bolting" Democrats very plausibly justified their course by the reason that the woeful depression of business, extreme scarcity of money, and unprecedented hard times generally, rendered the leniency they extended to the banks absolutely necessary for relief of the commercial interests of the country, and for averting further hardships to the people. And the end, in that emergency, certainly did justify the means.

Party lines were not observed in much that was accomplished by the Legislature at that session. The member of both parties voted together in desperate attempts to provide ways and means for paying the semi-annual interest on the enormous State debt, and for trying to devise plans to extricate the State from its crushing embarrassments. They were also united, actively or passively, in granting the infamous Mormon charters, neither party daring, by its opposition, to offend that new powerful voting element.[2] The crucial test of party fealty, however, was presented in support of the bill concocted by Democratic leaders for "Reorganizing the judiciary," an audacious scheme for converting the Supreme Court from a Whig to a Democratic tribunal by an addition to it of five Democratic justices, and legislating the circuit judges out of office, which was passed by a constitutional majority of both houses, and passed again over the Council of Revision's veto. There is no better proof of Judge Ralston's fidelity to his party than the fact that he voted with it throughout for that high-handed revolutionary measure. He was an active, vigilant and influential senator, a member of the judiciary committee and chairman of the Committee on Public Accounts and Expenditures, on all occasions watchful of his constituents interests as well as those of the public.

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[1] Ford's History of Illinois, p. 299 *et seq.*

[2] Adam W. Snyder, and his Period in Illinois History. 1906. Pp. 406-408 *et seq.*

At that time the State was apportioned into three Congressional districts, the first comprising the western half, and the second the eastern half, of southern Illinois, the third embracing the balance of the State north of Greene county, from the Mississippi to the Wabash. In the third district the numerical strength of the parties was very nearly equal, Major John T. Stuart, the Whig candidate, having defeated Stephen A. Douglas for Congress at the August, 1838, election by only thirty-five majority, receiving 18,248 votes to 18,213 for Douglas. The act of February 15, 1839, changed the date of the next Congressional election from its regular biennial time in 1840 to August 2, 1841, and biennially thereafter. It was known that Major Stuart would be a candidate for re-election. Douglas could not again be his competitor, having been elevated by the "Reorganization of the judiciary" to the Supreme Court bench. Upon consultation, the Democrats choose Judge Ralston for their candidate to oppose Stuart. He made the race, and was defeated by the surprising plurality of 2,164, with 19,562 votes for him in the district, 21,726 for Stuart, 507 for Frederick Collins (Abolitionist), and twenty-six scattering.

Governor Ford attributes that overwhelming defeat of Ralston to his course in ignoring the Democratic policy regarding banks, and voting in the Senate with the Whigs to legalize the bank suspensions.[1] That explanation is in part correct, but only in part. Opposition to banks was a Democratic article of faith, fixed and sacred as the dogma of a high protective tariff is with the Republican party of today. But there was another, and far more potent, factor responsible for the failure of Ralston's election, overlooked, or purposely ignored by Governor Ford. That was the votes of the Mormons given as a unit for the Whig ticket. In the three years, from 1838, when a total of 36,461 votes were polled in the district, to 1841, when the number of votes was 41,821, an increase of 5,360—there had been an astonishing influx of Mormons into Hancock and adjoning counties of the district. They had been driven out of Missouri by the Democrats in power, and on coming to Illinois voted solidly for the Whigs in retaliation. All white males among them, over the age of 21, voted (constitutionally) after a residence here of six months, and many voted in less than six weeks after their arrival, as none were challenged, and all voted for Major Stuart. Hence Judge Ralston's Waterloo.

At the general election in August, 1842, the Democrats, aided by the Mormons who then had turned against the Whigs, swept the State, electing the Governor, Thomas Ford, with a plurality of 8,317, the entire State ticket, and a large majority in both houses of the Legislature. In the thirteenth General Assembly, that met at Springfield on December

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[1] Ford's History of Illinois, p. 305

6th, Judge Ralston, not having resigned to run Congress, was, with E. D. Baker, Richard M. Cullom and others, one of hold-over senators industriously attentive to his duties, as before. The earnest work of that session, proving of inestimable value to the people, marked the beginning of a new era for Illinois.

The law-makers had recovered from their lunacy of 1836, and returned to methods of sanity and sound common sense. Getting together, regardless of party differences, they passed a bank adjustment bill, a bill for completion of the canal, one for securing the State's portion of proceeds of public lands sales, another for redemption of outstanding Macallister and Stebbins bonds; they appointed the Governor the State Fund Commissioner, and, as a crowning act of wisdom, provided a "two mill" tax (20 cents on the $100.00) on all property, which ensured the prompt payment of maturing interest, and placed the gigantic State debt in process of ultimate honorable extinction. The bank adjustment bill was a "compromise" entered into by Gov. Ford and the bank directors, whereby the banks agreed to go into liquidation, call in their circulating "shin plasters" and surrender to the State their bonds to the amount of $2,050,000.00 in exchange for an equal amount of bank stock held by the State. That was Gov. Ford's pet measure. He claimed that he wrote the bill, and that it was passed by his personal influence.

Although it was adopted by the Legislature almost unanimously, for some reason not now apparent, Judge Ralston opposed it. Lyman Trumbull, then Secretary of State, did all he could to defeat it, and Stephen A. Douglas, Supreme Court Justice, as one of the Council of Revision, voted to veto it after it had passed both houses.

Governor Ford was one of the ablest jurists in the State, a man of singularly clear, philosophical mind, largely endowed by nature with vigorous, comprehensive intellect which was reinforced by a fair education and much study. In stature he was small with thin, homely features, deep-set gray eyes, and long, sharp nose turned slightly at the point to one side. Well supplied with vanity and self-esteem, his prejudices were invincible, and his arrogance at times, intolerable and ludicrous. As insignificant in body and soul as he was admirable in mental power, lacking in physical and moral courage, vindictive, obstinate and spiteful, he hated those whom he could not control, and, when opportunity offered, caused them to feel the sting of his resentment. His spirit of vengeance outlived the lapse of time. He might forget a benefaction, but never forgave an injury. Of those who opposed his bank compromise bill, Douglas was beyond his reach, but Trumbull who was at his mercy, was immediately dismissed from the office of Secretary of State and replaced by Thompson Campbell. Having no chance to punish Judge Ralston he "nursed his wrath to keep it warm" until he wrote his *History of Illinois* several years later, in which he fully vented his pent-up malice. However, expecting to publish the book soon, and knowing that Judge Ralston was still living, he was too cowardly to designate him by name in his contemptible villification.[1] When General Shields published Fords *History* in 1854, Ralston was on the Pacific slope, and probably never saw in what terms his fellow Democrat, whom he had helped to make Governor of Illinois, had so meanly maligned him.

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[1] Ford's History of Illinois, pp. 307-308.

When the Legislature adjourned Judge Ralston again took his accustomed place at the Quincy bar, giving to his profession his undivided attention. It is not to be presumed, however, that he abjured further interest in politics, or renounced all political ambition. Few, indeed, in this great Democratic republic who have once enjoyed the subtle charm of office-holding voluntarily relinquish it, or lose the ardent desire to regain it. The Judge was doubtless at all times, as all politicians are, in a receptive mood, willing to "make the sacrifice for the public good," but was not openly a candidate for any position. Yet, he was accused in 1845 of coquetting with the Mormons, his erstwhile foes, who still voted the Democratic ticket, and held the balance of power in that district, but he stoutly denied the (Whig) impeachment.[1] It is though, altogether probable that his hold on popular favor had waned, and the fickle public was fawning upon new idols, as it often does.

To the class of "has been," or of "would like to be," politicians, the war with Mexico in 1846 opened up grand vistas of glowing opportunities. It also stirred the martial spirit of thousands of worthy citizens who only saw that their country's honor was at stake. Of that multitude Judge Ralston's patriotism was so aroused that he offered his services to the Polk administration, which were accepted by his appointment, June 26, 1846, to the position of Assistant Quartermaster General for the Illinois Volunteers, with the rank of Captain, and he was ordered to San Antonio, Texas. Closing up his business at Quincy, he left Illinois and arrived at his destination on the 13th of October. After resting a few days he started for the seat of war in Mexico, but his train was overtaken before it had gone far by an order from headquarters, at Washington, assigning him to duty at San Antonio. Returning there he relieved Captain Wall, the officer in charge, and remained there until the war closed. Though never within three hundred miles of the fighting line, the work Captain Ralston did was of more value to the army, and the cause it was engaged in, than the services of many officers in the field of higher rank. Vast quantities of supplies obtained upon his requisitions from New Orleans and elsewhere, droves of beef cattle, hundreds of horses, mules and oxen, wagons, harness, and other property necessary for the subsistence and tranportation of the northern division of our army in Mexico, purchased by his disbursement of many thousands of dollars, were forwarded from his post and distributed to the soldiers beyond the Rio Grande.

He employed for his chief clerk Mr. Edward Everett, a young man of education and very superior business qualifications, a nephew of the distinguished Massachusetts statesman of the same name, and at the time a sergeant in Captain Morgan's Quincy riflemen in Colonel Hardin's regiment, who was then incapacitated from active military service by a severe wound in the knee inflicted by a drunken Texan ruffian. Quartermaster Ralston took possession of the historic Alamo buildings, then in a ruinous condition, and converted them into a depot for supplies, storehouses, quarters for his men, and offices for himself and clerks. Assuming that he would probably be stationed at that post for some time, he sent for his wife who joined him there early in March, 1847. Not of robust constitution, her health failed as the heat of summer advanced, and she soon fell a victim of that enervating climate. She died on the 3rd of July, 1847, at the age of 35 years, eight months and twenty-seven days, and was buried there. She had lost four children in their infancy, there remaining but one left to her, a daughter named Elizabeth, who subsequently married Marcellus Tilden, a lawyer of Sacramento, California.

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[1] Quincy Whig of Sept. 24th, 1845.

Captain Ralston's clerk, Mr. Everett, was, in politics, as his illustrious uncle, a staunch Whig, passing in later years by easy transition into the ranks of Illinois Republicans. In his highly interesting "*Military Experience*"—donated by him to the [1]Quincy (Illinois) Historical Society, he says of his superior, "Captain James H. Ralston was a Kentuckian who had settled in Illinois, tall in person, and sallow complexion, with that formality of address, and assumed dignity so often seen in the western lawyer. In politics he was a Democrat, and as he termed it, a strict constructionist, though moderate and non-partisan in his views. He was mild and pleasant in his intercourse, and was quite popular with the citizens of the place, and no unkind word ever passed between us—though on occasion, as a delinquent once observed after a reprimand, 'he could use a fellow up in very few words.'" From this last sentence it must be inferred that the Captain when provoked employed harsh expletives to emphasize his utterances; yet, he was not usually profane in conversation. He was addicted to the use of tobacco, as all Kentuckians are; but, though a native of Bourbon county, very seldom tasted liquor of any description. Mr. Everett adds, "He was occasionally called on to make speeches on public occasions, as his delivery was good and his manner impressive, but as his early education had been very deficient, he would make out a rough draft of what he had to say, and then hand it to me to improve the language, and write it out clearly. His letters and reports to the heads of the departments at Washington were gotten up in the same manner."[1]

In November, 1848,[2] Captain Ralston was relieved of his duties as Assistant Quartermaster at San Antonio by Captain M. Morris, A. Q. M., U. S. A. Then followed for several weeks the work incident to turning over to the new officer the military stores, and settling up the business of the post. That transfer and settlements completed, Captain Ralston, with Mr. Everett, departed for Port Lavacca; thence took steamer to New Orleans, from there up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to Wheeling, Virginia, and on to Washington. "Here," says Mr. Everett, "we made our final accounts, and explained such points as were objected to by the auditors. The sum of public money expended by Captain Ralston while in Texas was a very large one, besides which the property, mostly means of transportation, passing through our hands, not included in the above, was very considerable. The accounts passed a very rigid examination and everything was finally allowed and Captain Ralston and myself honorably discharged." In the meantime the gold discovered by Jim Marshall in the tail-race of Capt. Sutter's mill at Coloma, California, Jan. 4, 1848, had frenzied the nation with the lust for riches. Captain Ralston received his discharge from military service on the 3d of March, 1849, and hastened back to Quincy. He was much disheartened by the changes time had wrought there in his former domestic and social surroundings during his absence of almost three years. His wife dead, his home desolate, his law business gone, many old and cherished friends passed away and replaced by strangers, saddened and discouraged, he concluded to join the mad rush of argonauts for the New Eldorado, and there commence life anew. Quickly disposing of his property, and making provision for his daughter, he set out on the long and unknown journey. Arriving there at the age of forty-two, in the prime and vigor of manhood, he found himself in a strange world of infinite possibilities, teeming with people of all races and stations, wildly scrambling for sudden wealth. Shunning the gold mines, so attractive to the multitude of immigrants, the Judge located at Sacramento City, where, in partnership with Thomas Sunderland, he engaged in the practice of such law as was then recognized to be in force. Making a specialty of protecting and defending the rights of miners and squatters against those who claimed titles to their properties by virtue of Spanish grants, he gained wide popularity and prospered.

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[1] 1905—Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, p. 216.
[2] Ibid., p. 228.

The civil government of California was at that period in chaotic condition, with no one in authority, and without so much as territorial organization. Its American population[1] was daily increasing by thousands, and already a horde of hungry politicians were clamoring for its admission as a state into the union. In pursuance of a call issued, they selected delegates who met in convention in Colton's hall at Monterey, on Sept. 1, 1849, and framed a State constitution which expressly excluded the institution of slavery. By its provision a legislature was elected which convened at San Jose on December 15th, and petitioned Congress for a State government. In response to their appeal Mr. Clay, early in that winter, introduced in the U. S. Senate his celebrated omnibus bill, or "Compromise,' by the terms of which California was admitted as a state, and New Mexico and Utah were organized as territories. That measure passed the lower house of Congress on the 7th, and was approved by President Fillmore on the 9th of September, 1850.

The political turmoil preceding and attending the birth of the new state (Sept. 9, 1850), awakened in Judge Ralston the old office-seeking instinct that for a few years past had been semi-quiescent. He was again an active politician, keenly interested in watching the machinery of the young state set in motion, and also watching incidentally for his opportunity. It came in 1852, when he was nominated and elected by the Democrats to represent Sacramento county in the State Senate, that county constituting a senatorial district. The legislature of California then met annually. Representatives were elected for one year, and senators for two. The state's capitol had not yet been located, the several towns were making strenuous efforts to secure it, occasioning much jealousy and ill-feeling, with some scandal. The third General Assembly, to which Judge Ralston was elected, convened at Vallejo on the 5th of January, 1852, and on the 12th of that month moved to Sacramento, remaining there until it adjourned on the 4th of May. Senator Ralston was made chairman of the Standing Committee on Corporations, and a member of the Committees on State Library and Enrolled Bills.

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[1] Citizens of the United States, in contradistinction to the natives of Spanish descent.

In its then formative stage the infant state required much careful legislation to regulate its many diversified interests, define its land tenures, and establish constitutional government in place of the capricious exercise of authority by Alcaldés and priests to which as a province of Mexico it had long been subjected. Judge Ralston was one of the most attentive members of the Senate, taking an active and conspicuous part in all the important work of the session. The estimate in which he was held by that body may be inferred by the fact that in the election by joint ballot of a U. S. Senator, though not a candidate for the position, he received eight votes on the first and second ballots, and nine votes on the third. when he withdrew his name. The contest then narrowed down to David C. Broderick and John B. Weller, with selection of the latter on the eighth ballot.

The extraordinary amount of rain that fell in upper California during the winter of 1851-52, by raising the Sacramento river over its banks, inundated a large area of its valley. No levee having then been thrown up to protect Sacramento City from the annual overflows of the river, it was for several weeks another Venice, its traffic and business carried on by boats over the streets covered with water from two to six feet deep. The writer of this sketch went down to Sacramento from the mines in March, 1852, and while there visited the legislature on several occasions in a canoe or skiff, the means of transportation employed by the legislators, state officials, and others, from their hotels or residences to the building used temporarily for a state house.

The fourth general assembly of California was convoked at Vallejo on the 3d of January, 1853, and moved from that place to Benecia on the 4th of February, continuing there its deliberations until it adjourned on the 19th of May.. Those towns, built on low sand flats on Napa Bay, are six miles apart, and twenty-three miles northeast of San Francisco. Each town was in succession made the State capital, General Vallejo's offering to the state a large quantity of land and $350,000.00 in money as an inducement to locate it in his town, Vallejo; but, it was totally unsuitable and without houses or other requisites in either town for a state capitol, the seat of government was, in 1854, permanently fixed at Sacramento, a more central point, seventy-five miles in direct line east of San Francisco. Upon organization of the legislature, in recognition of Senator Ralston's ability and party leadership, he was given the post of highest honor and responsibility, that of Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. He was also placed on the important committees on Finance and Corporations. For fidelity to his duties, for industry, capability, and influence, during that session he was not surpassed by any member of either branch of that assembly.

He was not an applicant for office that year having in consideration a matter of much weightier concern to engage his personal attention. For seven years he was a widower, solaced in a measure for his great loss by the care and affection of his only child, his daughter Elizabeth. But the inevitable occurred. A rising young lawyer of Sacramento found favor in her eyes, married her, and took her to a new home. Realizing then the dreary loneliness of his situation, he decided that the wisest course to pursue would be to look around for another life companion to replace the one taken from him by death in Texas. With that view he went to New York City, having doubtless arranged all necessary preliminaries by correspondence, and there, on the 20th of October, 1853, was united in marriage with Miss Harriet N. Jackson, daughter of Rev. Aaron Jackson, a Baptist minister of that city, who several years before had been stationed in charge of a church at Quincy, Illinois.

Returning with his bride to Sacramento he applied himself with renewed diligence to his profession, having apparently exorcised for all time the *ignis fatuus* of political ambition he had so long been chasing. Its fascination was, however, too strongly intrenched in his nature to be permanently shaken off by such a trivial affair as marriage. Yielding to the persuasion of friends, he again entered the arena in 1856 as a candidate for chief justice of the Supreme Court on the Democratic ticket. Up to that time the old-line Democrats had dominated California politically; but the disaffection, and disintegration, of the party in the eastern states, owing to repeal of the Missouri Compromise and its consequences, in 1854, had spread to the Pacific slope with the result of arraying against it the united elements of all opposition, including the Whigs, Free-Soilers and Know-Nothings. Still, the Democrats carried the state for Buchanan in 1856 though routed in many of the counties and for most of the state offices. Judge Ralston was one of the victims of the Douglas heresies, and went down in defeat before the forces of the political revolution that, rapidly gaining strength, in a few years swept the country. In 1860 and 1864 California gave its electorial vote to Lincoln, and assumed its place in the column of Republican states.

That disaster to his party was intolerable to Judge Ralston. On receiving the official returns of the 1860 election he immediately settled up his business and left the state, going over the mountains to Virginia City in Nevada, where he once more established himself in the practice of law. Nevada then had a population of about 15,000, which, upon development of the amazing deposits of silver and gold in the Comstock and other mines, quickly grew to nearly 50,000. Politicians were there early and in force, having some time before begun, and continued, agitation for territorial organization, which Congress granted in March, 1861. That act, instead of allaying political ebulition, stimulated it to increased activity in the direction of a demand for admission of the territory into the union as a state. In furtherance of that object a call was issued in 1863 for a convention to frame a state constitution. In that call was presented to Judge Ralston a tempting opportunity he could not resist. Offering his services to the people he was elected a delegate to represent Storey county, of which Virginia City is the county seat, in that convention. In a private letter received from Mr. Wm. Epler, at present a citizen of Jacksonville, Illinois, he says, "During the fall of 1863 it was my good fortune to become intimately acquainted with Judge James H. Ralston. We first met as members of the first constitutional convention of Nevada, he a delegate from Storey county, and I a delegate from Humboldt county. For the forty days of the convention we occupied seats and desks within arms length of each other.

"The fact that he formerly resided in Quincy, Illinois, and I in Jacksonville, brought us in close touch at once. In that convention Judge Ralston won the respect and esteem of the entire body by his dignified, modest and gentlemanly manners, his evident ability, and close attention to business. He came over to Nevada territory from California, as did nearly all the other members, my own case being an exception, as I never lived in California before becoming a citizen of Nevada. Not long after adjournment of the convention, early in 1864, he moved from Virginia City to Austin, in Lander county, near the center of the territory, and there resumed his practice of law; but, which was destined not to continue long."

At that period Judge Ralston was physically and mentally vigorous and active, with every prospect of many years of exertion and usefulness in store for him. Of optimistic temperament he looked forward with cheerful expectancy to the admission of Nevada into the Union in the near future, and perhaps was planning to play an important part in the political affairs of the new state. The human family surely has few greater blessings than that impenetrable veil excluding the future from its vision. Nevada was made a state by Act of Congress in October of that year (1864); but five months before that event the public was shocked and saddened by the melancholy death of Judge Ralston. The mournful story of its occurrence, learned from various sources, was published in full in the *Quincy Whig* (Illinois) of June 26, 1864, and is in substance as follows:

"About the 1st of May (1864) the Judge, with another man, left Austin on horseback to visit his ranch in Smoky Valley, thirty miles distant. They soon separated, his companion going to some other point, and he went on alone. Mrs. Ralston says 'he was caught in a blinding snow storm on the desert,' and no doubt lost his way. When he did not return after the lapse of two or three days, his family and friends, apprehensive that he may have met with some accident, organized a party to go in search of him, but without success, having ascertained at his ranch that he had not been there. A number of experienced plainsmen then, with a skillful Indian guide, starting from Austin, upon going some distance 'struck his trail, and followed it in the direction of San Antonio for a distance of ninety miles, then crossing Smoky Valley at the Indian Wells opposite Coyote Springs, keeping a southern course, passing Link Barnes' ranch, a few miles farther fell in with some Indians who told them that Judge Ralston was dead, and directed them to his body which they found but eight miles northeast of San Antonio, and five miles from the Barnes' ranch.' Lost and bewildered he traveled for days without food or water until finally he fell from his horse exhausted, and there expired. From all the 'signs' and circumstances observed it was concluded that his tragic death occurred on the 8th of May (1864), when 56 years, 6 months and 26 days of age.

Some Shoshone Indians (Root Diggers) were the first to discover the dead body, which was considerably mutilated by the coyotes. To prevent its further mutilation by those little wolves, the Indians in accordance with their tribal custom of cremating their dead, piled dry sage brush over the remains and burned them. The searching party gathered up all that remained of the dead statesman and jurist, placing them in a sack for transportation on horseback, and conveyed them to his home in Austin. With his remains were found some gold coins he had in his pockets, together with his spectacles and watch, the latter ruined, of course, by the fire, 'but valuable as melancholy relics of his sad fate.'

"His body upon its arrival in town was taken in charge by his brother Masons, of which order he had attained the rank of Knight Templar. At an early hour yesterday, the members of the legal fraternity met at the court house and resolved to attend in a body the funeral of the honored deceased. The procession formed in front of the court house at one o'clock and, headed by the Austin brass band, followed by the Masons in regalia, members of the bar, firemen, hearse, the family of the deceased, citizens on horseback and in carriages, the cortege marched to the cemetery. This was the most imposing funeral that has yet occurred in Austin. The worth, position and high esteem, the melancholy circumstances attending the death of Judge Ralston, gave a solemn and universal interest to the occasion. After the interment the procession returned, marching to a lively tune, to the court house, and dispersed."*

In publishing the foregoing account, the *Quincy Herald* of June 29, 1864, said: "The old settlers of this part of the State, and, indeed, of the whole State, will regret to learn of the death of Judge Ralston. The particulars concerning his death we give in this article below, copied from the *Whig*. He was one of the early settlers of this part of the State, where he earned a high reputation as a lawyer, and achieved distinction as a leading politician. He was universally respected for his integrity and candor, both as a public man and private citizen, and was sincerely beloved as a citizen and neighbor." The dreary, sandy waste in which Judge Ralston so wretchedly died was then named "Ralston's Desert," a name it still bears, and is so designated on the government maps.

From the marriage of Judge Ralston and Miss Jackson two children were born, a daughter, Mary Aurora Ralston, who died in early life, and a son, Jackson H. Ralston, now and for several years past, an eminent attorney of Washington, D. C., "who was counsel representing the United States in the Pious Fund case, the first tried before the Hague tribunal. He was also the umpire between Italy and Venezuela in the Court of Arbitration at Caracas a few years ago." Mrs. Harriet N. Ralston, the Judge's widow, is also at present (1908) a resident of Washington.

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* Austin Star, May 12th, 1864.

It is not certain that any relationship existed between Judge Ralston and William Chapman Ralston of San Francisco, though Mrs. Harriet N. Ralston asserts they were second cousins. Wm. C. Ralston, a native of Plymouth, Ohio, and a "Napoleon of Finance," it may be remembered, was for three years president of the great Bank of California at San Francisco, until deposed from that position by the directors, and the bank closed its doors about noon on the 26th of August, 1875. That afternoon the dethroned president took his customary bath in the Bay at North Beach. Swimming far out from shore he "seemed to be taken with a fit" and drowned before a boat could reach him. The cause of the bank's suspension, it was soon known, was the abstraction of four and a half millions of its funds by President Ralston, which he converted to his own use and lost it all in wild speculation.[1]

[To Mrs. Harriet N. Ralston of Washington, Hon. Wm. A. Richardson of Quincy, Illinois, and Hon. James A. Johnson of Oakland, California, I am greatly indebted for special information, without which the foregoing biographical sketch of Judge Ralston could not have been written—J. F. S.]

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[1] History of San Francisco. By John S. Hittell. 1877, pp. 407-408.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TAMAROIS MISSION.

By **Edward Joseph Fortier.**

The time of the founding of Tamarois or Cahokia has been a disputed question, the date given varying from the time of LaSalle in 1683 to 1699.[1] Never has the exact date of the establishment of the mission been determined. The letters which follow prove that the event fell within the year 1699, sometime between March 28 and May 20.

It may be well, without going into too many details, to review the history of the Illinois missions before taking up the letters which help more particularly to determine the date of the Tamarois mission. It is not necessary to give the history of the struggle between the Jesuits and the Seminary of Quebec as that has been done elsewhere,[2] but to speak ot the struggle only in so far as it will help clear up the matter in hand.

The care of the Illinois mission was first confided to Marquette and at his death it was committed to Father Allouez also a Jesuit. When he died exhausted by the great hardships he had undergone, Father Jacques Gravier, of the same society, was appointed Vicar General about 1690.

Evidently Gravier planned a mission among the Tamarois, for he writes:[3] "About the middle of May the deputies of the savages of this village (Illinois) accompanied by two Frenchmen went to seek the alliance of the Missouri and of the Osages. These French merchants, with the view of carrying on an advantageous trade with those tribes, made some proposals of peace to them; to these they agreed solely out of complaisance to the French, through consideration for whom they became reconciled with the Osages. I would willingly have performed that journey to see for myself whether anything could be done there for the glory of God among Tamaroa and the Kaoukia who are Illinois; and to sound the Missouri and Osages in order to ascertain what could be obtained from them in respect to Christianity; for I have no doubt that I would have found many dying children and adults to baptize. I contented myself with telling them that I would cheerfully have undertaken the journey with them, as its difficulties and fatigues would have been agreeable to me while working for the interests of God." Further in the journal he says:[1] "But, as I am alone, I cannot assist or visit the other village of the Illinois, which are on the banks of the Mississippi."

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[1] Peck, J. M., Gazetteer of Illinois, etc., 2d edition, Philadelphia, 1837, p. 85; Beck, L. C., Gazetteer of Illinois, etc., Albany, 1823, pp. 52, 94; Baird, Robert, View of the Valley of the Mississippi, etc., Philadelphia, 1834, p. 47; Winsor, Mississippi Basin, p. 5.

[2] Shea, The Catholic Church in Colonial Days, New York, 1886, pp. 536-544.

[3] Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LXIV Letter by Father Jacques Gravier in the form of a Journal of the Mission of l' Immaculé Conception de Notre Dame in the Illinois Country, February 15, 1694, p. 161.

The Seminary of Quebec, an outgrowth of the "Missions Etrangéres," at Paris felt that it also, would like to do something for the faith and establish missions in New France.[2] M. de St. Valier, Bishop of Quebec, approved their plans for founding a mission in the Tamarois country and May 1, 1698 gave his authorization to the Seminary. The Seminary was to send a superior who would be Vicar General over the field inhabited by nations on both banks of the Mississippi and its tributaries. They wished to plant their first mission at the Tamarois; but, when the Society of Jesus heard of this, an objection was raised as the Society considered this tribe, since it belonged to the Illinois, already in their care. The Seminary of Quebec, however, looked upon the Tamarois territory, "as the key and necessary passage to reach the more distant nations." By letters patent of July 17, 1698, the very Reverend Francis Jolliet de Montigny, Reverend Anthony Davion and Reverend John Francis Buisson de Saint Cosme were empowered to go to the Mississippi and establish a residence among the Tamarois, the V. Rev. Montigny was to be Vicar-General and helped defray the expenses of the journey.

The party set out and reached Michillimackinac from which they set out on September 14,[3] accompanied by Tonty who was to be their guide for the greater part of their journey. On the 4th of October they came to a small Peoria village where Father Marest had planted a cross.[4] They then stopped in Chicago at the mission of Father Pinet.[5] "I cannot explain to you, Monseigneur, with what cordiality and marks of esteem these reverend Jesuit Fathers received and caressed us during the time that we had the consolation of staying with them. Their house is built on the banks of a small lake on one side and a fine prairie on the other. If we may judge of the future by the little while that Father Pinet has been on this mission, we may say that God blesses the labors and zeal of this holy missionary."

On November 19 they arrived at Fort Peoria where they found the Reverend Father Marest.[6] "All the reverend fathers gave us all possible welcome" and Father Marest says:[7] "Three gentlemen of the Quebec Seminary sent by Monseigneur the Bishop to establish missions on the Mississippi, passed through here. We received them as well as we were able, lodging them in our own house, and sharing with them what we could possess amid a scarcity as great as that which prevailed in the village throughout the year. On leaving, we also induced them to take seven sacks of corn that we had left, concealing our poverty from them, so that they might have less objection to receiving what we offered them. In another of our missions, we also fed two of their people.

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[1] Thwaites, vol. LXIV, p. 171.

[2] Shea, Catholic Church, etc., p. 538; Abbé Gosselin, in Congrés des Americanistes, Vol. 1, p. 31.

[3] Shea, Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, New York, 1861. Letter of J. F. St. Cosme to the Bishop (of Quebec), p. 46.

[4] Ibid., p. 50.

[5] Ibid., p. 53.

[6] Ibid., p. 59.

[7] Thwaites, Jesuit Relations LXV, p. 83. Letter of F. G. Marest, Illinois Country, April 29, 1699.

"As the gentlemen did not know the Illinois language, we gave them a collection of prayers, and a translation of the catechism, with the notes that we have been able to make upon that language, in order to help them to learn it. In fine, we showed them every possible attention and kindness."

About noon of December 7, 1698, St. Cosme's party arrived at Tamarois.[1] "The Tamarois were cabined on an island lower down than their village, perhaps to get wood more easily, from which their village, which is on the edge of a prairie is somewhat distant, perhaps too for fear of their enemies. We could not well see whether they were numerous. They seemed to us quite so, although the greater part of their people were hunting. There was wherewith to form a fine mission by bringing the Kahokias, who are quite near, and the Michiagamias who are a little lower down on the Mississippi, and said to be quite numerous." The party left Tamarois on the 8th of December and finally arrived at the Arkansas where Mr. de Montigny remained for some time.

I have dealt at some length upon St. Cosme's voyage so as to give an idea of the causes at work for the founding of the Tamarois mission. I have also shown the good feelings with which the Jesuits received the Seminary priests. There was soon to be such friction between the two orders that the V. Rev. M. de Montigny was compelled to give up his Vicar-Generalship and go to France with d'Iberville. Let us now turn to the letters.

Letter No. 1.[2]—This extract dated at the Tamarois March, 1700, is written by St. Cosme in answer to a letter written him by Mgr. Laval. The letter was sent by the Rev. Mr. Bergier and young M. de St. Cosme who had not yet taken the priestly vows. In order to give the Mississippi mission more effective force, the Seminary at Quebec had sent out the Rev. M. Bergier and the Rev. M. B. Boutteville in 1699. Young M. de St. Cosme accompanied Mr. Bergier.

M. de Montigny in a letter from the Arkansas in 1699 says:[3] "As for Mr. de St. Cosme he remains at the Tamarois."[4] Thaumur de La Source writing also from Arkansas says:[4] "Mr. de St. Cosme is at the Tamarois, which is eight leagues from the Illinois. It is the largest village we have seen. There are about three hundred cabins there."[5]

It is seen then in reading the letter that both Montigny and St. Cosme are at Tamarois and as the former speaks of what he did during the absence of Montigny who had left for Chicago on March 28, 1699 and returned May 20 of the same year, it may be said that the real founding took place between March 28 and May 20, 1699.

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[1] Shea, St. Cosme's letter, p. 66.

[2] These letters from the archives of Laval University, Quebec, were called to my attention by Prof. Alvord. I thank M. l'Abbé Amédée Gosselin of Laval University for furnishing us with a copy of them.

[3] Shea, Voyage Up and Down. Montigny's letter, p. 76.

[4] Ibid., La Source's letter, p. 79.

[5] Abbé Gosselin, Americaniste, I, p. 34. Note 1 says that according to the Quebec census there must have been 1,500 people or five people to a hut, and he says further: "This La Source is not the missionary Thaumur de La Source as commonly supposed, but one of the twelve men who accompanied the missionaries who left in 1698. La Source, the priest, went to the Mississippi in 1718.

The letter ends: "I was very much surprised at Father Bineteau's arrival. He had left Peoria to come and settle in this mission. Father Bineteau and Father Marest were stationed on the Illinois river. Bineteau in his letter of January, 1699 says:[1] "I am at present spending the winter with a portion of our savages who are scattered about. I have recently been with the Tamarois, to visit a band of them on the banks of one of the largest rivers in the world, which for this reason we call the Mississippi or 'the great river.' I am to return to the Illinois of Tamaroa in the spring."

"Extracts from a letter of Mr. de St. Cosme to Mgr. de Laval dated at Tamarois, March, 1700."

"I have received that (letter) which your highness has done me the honor of sending by Mr. Bergier and my brother who have arrived here the seventh of February. It would be useless for me to describe the difficulties which they have encounterd during their journey. Mr. Bergier will tell you about it at some length. I will inform you simply of that which took place in this mission since our arrival from the Arkansas, and since Mr. de Montigny left it to go to Chicago, March 28 of the preceding year 1699. He left me here with two men. I worked toward having my house built and had wood gathered for my chapel. I baptized several children and upon Mr. de Montigny's return from Chicago I had baptized thirty. Upon his arrival, May 20, 1699, he found my house built and the lumber for my chapel all ready. We had it (chapel) completed and erected a fine cross. But I was very much surprised at Father Bineteau's arrival. He had left Peoria to come and settle this mission."

Letter No. 2.[2]—Shortly after the arrival of Bergier and young St. Cosme, the older St. Cosme descended to Natchez.[3] M. de Montigny left for France not long after as we have said and Bergier became Vicar-General. The Rev. M. Bergier remained at the Tamarois post with La Source who in his letter says:[4] "M. de Montigny inclines to put me at the Tamarois with M. de St. Cosme I should not be displeased."

M. Bergier wrote the Bishop of Quebec during the latter part of February, 1700:

"I related to your highness our trip to the Illinois, from which place I wrote you all I had found out about the condition of the missions and that which concerns the government of your church. There remains but to inform you of the condition of the latter.

"I arrived there the 7th of this month with young Mr. de St. Cosme. I have counted there a hundred cabins in all, or thereabouts, of which nearly half are vacant because the greater part of the Cahokias are still in winter quarters twenty or twenty-five leagues from here up the Mississippi.

"The village is composed of Tamarois, Cahokias, some Michigans and Peorias. There are also some Missouri cabins, and shortly, there are to come about thirty-five cabins of this last named nation who are winterquartering some ten or fifteen leagues from here below the village, on the river.

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[1] Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LXV, p. 71. Letter of Father Julian Bineteau, of the Society of Jesus, to a father of the same society.

[2] Part of this letter has been quoted by Abbé Gosselin in Congrés des Americanistes, 1906, Vol. I, p. 34.

[3] Bernard de la Harpe, Journal Historique, in Margry, V, p. 404.

[4] Shea, Voyages Up and Down, La Source's Letter, p. 85.

We must not, however, count this nation as forming part of the village and of the Tamarois mission, because it remains there only a few months to make its Indian wheat, while awaiting a day to return to its village, which is more than a hundred leagues away, upon the shores of the Missouri river. This it has not dared to undertake for the last few years for fear of being surprised and defeated on the way by some other hostile nation.

"The Tamarois and the Cahokias are the only ones that really form part of this mission. The Tamarois have about thirty cabins and the Cahokias have nearly twice that number. Although the Tamarois are at present less numerous than the Cahokias, the village is still called Tamaroa, gallicized "Des Tamarois," because the Tamarois have been the first and are still the oldest inhabitants and have first lit a fire there, to use the Indian expression. All the other nations who have joined them afterwards have not caused the name of the village to change, but have been known under the name Tamarois although they were not Tamarois."

Letter No. 3.—Bergier's second letter is a description of the conditions at the Tamarois post. Father Pinet[1] mentioned here is the one who received St. Cosme at the Chicago mission. He founded the Guardian Angel at Chicago. He had to give it up through Frontenac's hostility and resumed it through Laval's influence. He probably went to Tamarois in 1700 where he labored with Father Bergier. Gravier says:[2] Father Pinet discharges peaceably all the functions of missionary and M. Bergier, who gets along very well with us, has care only of the French, and this is a great relief for Father Pinet."

In a letter without address dated at the Tamarois, June 14, 1700, Mr. Bergier says:

"We have frequent alarms here and we have several times been obliged to receive within our walls nearly all the women and children of the village. Pentecost Sunday there was one [alarm] which was not without consequences. Four Sioux on the edge of the woods of the Tamarois, in plain sight of the village, cut off the neck of a slave belonging to a Frenchman; stabbed two women to death and scalped them; wounded a girl with a knife and crushed another under foot. They were all picking strawberries. We were about to finish singing compline when the chief ran to our door to warn us that the Sioux were killing them. He threw himself into Mr. de St. Cosme's canoe, with some Indians and Frenchmen to reconnoitre, partly by water and then by land. Great excitement prevailed. Finally the Sioux were discovered and three were captured, killed, burned and eaten. This is a horrible detail. It partakes less of man than of the wolf, the tiger and the demon. The last of these three Sioux, who was burned only the next day was baptized by F. Pinet who made use of the "Lorrain" as an interpreter. He (Sioux) was the nephew of Ouakantape chief of the Sioux, and because of this everyone is very much afraid that the Sioux will want to avenge this death and destroy the village some day. On the other hand the Shawnee who are enemies of the Illinois are feared.

"One may say that we are "inter lupos, in medio nationes pravae et perversae." Their greatest and most universal passion is to destroy, scalp and eat men, that, is all their ambition, their glory; an essential drawback to Christianity, as long as it will last. But the mercy of Jesus Christ is all powerful. Beseech him that he diffuse it very abundantly over this mission and over the missionaries and that he make them 'Prudentes ut serpentes, simplices ut comumbat.—Amen.' "

Letter No. 4.—M. Bergier's letter of April 13, 1701, gives us the story of the separation of the tribes. The news of the settling of the French at the mouth of the river doubtless had great influence upon them as they thought they might get refuge from their enemies. Father Pinet became the Missionary of some of the Tamarois and was followed by the Rev. Bineteau.[1] Bergier and La Source remained at the Tamarois who as Bergier says "will leave soon and there will remain only Cahokia."[2]

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[1] Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LXIV, p. 278.
[2] Shea, Voyages Up and Down, Gravier Journal, p. 117.

Letter of Mr. Bergier, without address, but dated April 13, 1701, Extract:

"If I did not wish to assure you of the continuance of my respect it would not be necessary to write to tell you what is happening here, because the French will not fail to tell you all I have to say on the subject.

"1. The Kats to the extent of about thirty cabins have established their new village two leagues below this one on the other side of the Mississippi. They have built a fort there and nearly all the French hastened there.

"2. The chief of the Tamarois followed by some cabins joined the Kats, attracted by Rouensæ who promises them much and makes them believe him saying that he is called by the great chief of the French, Mr. d'Iberville, as Father Marest has told him.

"3. The remainder of the Tamarois numbering about twenty cabins are shortly going to join their chief, already settled at the Kats. So there will remain here only the Cahokias numbering 60 or 70 cabins. They are now cutting stakes to build a fort."[3]

Letter No. 5.—The following passage having no date, address or author's name is an interesting description of the Tamarois or Cahokia country. It has been impossible for me to date it but I would place it shortly after 1720 after the completion of Fort Chartres.

THE TAMAROIS OR CAHOKIAS.[4]

"The Tamarois or Cahokias are situated about fifteen leagues above the establishment of the French fort of the Illinois called Fort Chartres, and five leagues below the mouth of the Missouri. The Mississippi flows nearly to the north and south in a plain which is enclosed between mountains on both sides, which slope differently from the river, because to the west, upon ascending the course of this river, it runs along more closely.

"One usually counts twelve leagues, by land, from the establishment of Fort Chartres to the Cahokias, by going by way of the heights, so as to shorten the journey, which is too difficult to allow vehicles conveying provisions to pass. This one may hope to develop in time by work, so that it would seem more necessary to establish communications from one place to the other by the valley than by traveling over the heights. One could build bridges there to facilitate the passage of some drained rivers which come together at that point. These rivers are filled with water when the Mississippi overflows. One could also establish different habitations in this space where there are a number of prairies which become larger or smaller, as the river is nearer the eastern side.

"The woods which we usually see upon the bank of the river from the establishment of the French up to the Cahokias are possibly, in their greatest width, three-quarters of a league wide, and about a quarter of a league in width in the narrowest places. They are good for building and heating (sic) and must be better husbanded for the establishments than those of the coasts which are slender, crooked, and of medium height, the greater part being red tortuous oaks.

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[1] Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LXV, 263.

[2] Jesuit Relations, LXV, Gravier's Journal, p. 101.

[3] For further references see: Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LXIV, 161, 264; LXV, 262, 264; LXVI, 339, 348; LXX, 310; Margry, Vol. IV, 431; Margry, Vol. V, 444, 490, 634; Magazine of American History, Vol. 6, 160; Shea, Voyages Up and Down, Le Sueur, 87; Wisconsin Hist. Collections, Vol. XVI, 179, 180, 181, 331, 332.

[4] Copy without author's name or date.

"The edge of these coasts is filled with rocks from which one can extract freestones, grindstones and millstones. Numerous springs gush from this place at the base of which it would be easy to build watermills. These springs form marshes which are found for nearly the whole length at the base of the mountains where the land seems to be lower than elsewhere.

From the source of these marshes to the edges of the woods which are found along the river banks, one from time to time sees prairies, which are more or less long or wide depending upon the river, as has already been noted.

"The real prairie of the Cahokias, (where the gentlemen of the missions are established, as well as the Illinois who have named the village of the Cahokias), is about two leagues long from the southwest to the northeast, by three-quarters of a league wide in the most prominent place, so that it nearly forms a long square. It is bounded to the northeast by a small fringe of woods about half a league wide. This projects from an arm of the Mississippi nearly up to the heights, beyond which there is another prairie at least as extensive as the preceding, but I have never seen it.

"The soil of the Cahokia is very easy to cultivate, being at least two feet deep where it is found to be black, fertile and light. Then there is found a reddish soil which forms a fine sand mixed with light earth. This soil may without great cultivation produce French wheat, tobacco, corn and in season a variety of vegetables in abundance. It may be used as pasture for a number of cattle, which are not hard to care for in winter because only those which are actually working are enclosed in stables or stalls. The others are left to pasture in the open in summer as well as in winter. An island about a league in length by a half league in width has already been determined upon for a "commune." This island forms the arm of the Mississippi upon which are established the gentlemen of the missions and the savages. This, to prevent the cattle from harming the dwellings which may be put up later.

"The prairie of which we have just spoken may abundantly furnish lands for 150 good workmen.

"Between this prairie and another to the south there is still another fringe of woods about half a league in extent. A little river which sometimes dries up divides it. This prairie may be also from two leages or thereabouts in length, by three-quarters of a league in width situated between the mountains and the fringe of woods, by the banks of the river. It is like the preceding and is about the same shape. It may also hold 50 good inhabitants and serve as pasture for all the cattle they may need. The inhabitants, however, will have a little further to haul their possessions upon the river bank.

"The soil found upon the heights varies. Some of it is in extended prairies and others are covered with woods, the greater part of which are red oaks. Good settlements may be developed there in the future, either to gather wheat or to plant vines granting that some may be had from Europe which are already rooted cuttings. It seems, however, more proper to settle on the banks of the river because of the convenience of transportation. There are already at Kaskaskias, at the settlement of Fort Chartres and at the Cahokias more than 1500 horned animals and 150 horses, without counting those belonging to the Indians.

"The distance from Kaskaskia to Cahokia is reckoned as being 21 leagues by land, so that one will be able to establish settlements in this space sufficient to sustain many inhabitants and to shelter oneself from the outrages of the Indians.

"The flour and other provisions (sic) can be carried down the river to give the inhabitants who are there more commodities for their livelihood, and will give returns to those of the Illinois for their subsistence as well as the necessary provisions."

THE LINCOLN-CONKLING LETTER.

Read Before a Union Mass-Meeting at Springfield, Ill., Sept. 3, 1863—An Explanation of Lincoln's Most Famous Epistle.[1]

By Paul Selby.

Following is the title of the article as it appeared in the Chicago Tribune, Sunday, June 23, 1895:

LIGHT ON A FAMOUS LINCOLN LETTER.

What the Martyr President Really Meant in His Epistle to James C. Conkling.

Popular opinion has been practically unanimous, for the last thirty years, in the sentiment that the most noteworthy speech of an unofficial character ever uttered by Abraham Lincoln, was delivered by him in the old Representatives Hall of the Illinois State Capitol at Springfield, June 16, 1858, when, in response to the resolution of the Republican State convention declaring him the choice of his party for United States Senator, he announced the doctrine of a "house divided against itself" as applied to the institution of slavery. While his two inaugurals were accorded a greater importance and commanded a more profound attention, both at home and abroad, by virtue of their official character and their appearance during a great national crisis, and his brief speech at Gettysburg took rank beside the noblest specimens of Athenian eloquence belonging to the age of Pericles and Demosthenes, because of the simplicity of its diction and the touching pathos which went directly to the heart of a nation already bowed at the bier of its patriotic dead, the Springfield speech startled the country with the first clear-cut and incisive statement of the issue opening up before it, and foreshadowing the result which was to follow the coming struggle. It thus assumed at once the character of admonition and prophecy, and furnished the keynote to the remarkable forensic contest of the same year between its author and his brilliant rival, Stephen A. Douglas. It ante-dated the "irrepressible conflict" of Seward and indicated more clearly what might be expected as the outcome.

Among the letters of Mr. Lincoln on public topics there is one which is likely to be regarded, as time advances, as most unique and characteristic of the man and displaying the peculiar sublety of his intellect in a most striking manner. Reference is had here to what is known as the "Lincoln-

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[1] The original article, of which the one herewith presented is a copy, was published in the Sunday edition of the Chicago Tribune June 23, 1895, accompanied by a portrait of President Lincoln and an editorial endorsement which will be found quoted on a following page. To the original text as it appears in this issue, have been added some facts relating to the event of which it treats—some of them being incorporated in the body of the article and others added as foot notes.

JAMES COOK CONKLING.

Conkling letter," written by Mr. Lincoln on the 26th of August, 1863, to be read before a State mass-meeting of "unconditional Union men," held at Springfield, Ill., Sept. 3 of that year. Some of its expressions border so closely on the enigmatic as to have given rise to some controversy as to its proper construction, when read with different predilections and degrees of care.

This is more remarkable in view of the fact that Mr. Lincoln is one of the most lucid, as well as logical, of writers on any subject on which he chooses to express himself with clearness and accuracy. That this difference of construction is due to careless reading is, I think, capable of demonstration from the context of the letter itself, as well as from the circumstances which called it out and the relation of its writer to the man through whom it was addressed to the public.

This letter was written at a critical period in the history of the war. The final proclamation of emancipation had been before the country for a period of eight months, and had, during that time, been the object of persistent attack from the opponents of the administration.

Although Vicksburg had fallen and the bloody battle of Gettysburg had been won during the last few months, the government was in serious financial straits, the drafts had been forcibly resisted in some of the states, and the enemies of the Union cause in the North were more than usually active and defiant, as shown by the "peace meetings" held at various points, especially at Springfield on the 17th of June previous.[1] The elections of the previous year had resulted disastrously to the administration, and many of its most earnest supporters were becoming disheartened, as they saw the fate of the republic trembling in the balance. It was in this condition of affairs that Mr. Lincoln's personal and political friends, at his old home, conceived the idea of calling a "grand mass-meeting of the unconditional Union men of the State, without regard to former party associations, who are in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war," the object being to counteract the effect of the peace meetings already referred to, and sustain the hands of the government in its efforts to subdue the rebellion.

The interest taken in the meeting, as well as its State character, is shown by the fact that the call received the signatures of several hundred citizens, including representatives of two-thirds of the counties of the State, and in order to make the occasion the more impressive, President Lincoln was invited to be present, besides a score or more of the most distinguished orators of the Nation.[2]

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[1] At the Springfield meeting, held under the leadership of Gen. J. W. Singleton, a series of twenty-four resolutions was adopted, of which the twenty-third aroused special criticism on the part of the supporters of the government war policy. This, among other things, declared that "a further offensive prosecution of this war tends to subvert the Constitution and entails upon this nation all the disastrous consequences of misrule and anarchy," and proposed that there be held "a national convention to settle upon terms of peace, which should have in view the restoration of the Union as it was, and the securing, by constitutional amendment, of such rights of the several states and people thereof, as honor and justice" (in the estimation of its advocates) "demand." As this was after the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863, it amounted practically to a proposition to rescind that measure and re-establish slavery under conditions that would perpetuate its existence for an indefinite period. In the light of this feature, it is not difficult to understand to what class Lincoln meant to apply his argument while addressing a meeting of "unconditional Union men."

[2] The list of signatures to the call, as published in the Illinois State Journal at the time, occupied one and a quarter columns of the paper in solid agate type, containing the names of citizens of sixty-six out of one hundred and two counties of the State, and ranging from one to fifty-five names from each county. Pike county taking the lead with the larger number and being followed by Grundy county with fifty-three signers, Morgan with fifty-one, McLean with forty-five, DeKalb with forty-three and Sangamon with forty-one—making a total of 1,000 to 1,200 names for the whole State and indicating the wide interest in the meeting. The call requested that all loyal men rally together from the remotest parts of the State; "from the farm and the workshop, the office and the counting-room;" that "the farmer leave his plow, the mechanic his tools, the merchant his store, the professional man his business, and devote a few hours to the interests of his country and the demands of the government." That it was answered in the spirit in which it was expressed, is shown by the fact that, in spite of the absence of 150,000 of

We have the assurances of Mr. Lincoln's biographers, Messrs. Nicolay and Hay—who, as his private secretaries at the time, must have been aware of his purposes and desires—that for a time he "cherished the hope of going to Springfield, and once more in his life renew the sensation, so dear to politicians, of personal contact with great and enthusiastic masses," but that he was compelled to forego this pleasure in consequence of the demands of public business. Instead he sent a letter addressed to the Hon. James C. Conkling, of Springfield (who, as Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, had written the letter of invitation), which letter he requested Mr. Conkling to read to the assembled thousands who would compose the meeting.[1] It is to be presumed that, understanding thoroughly the existing emergency in the Nation and the momentous character of the occasion when this

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the stalwart citizens of the State in the field struggling for the perpetuity of the Union, citizens came from a distance of fifty to sixty miles from Springfield on horseback or in wagons, many bringing their wives and children with them, while many single individuals came from the remotest parts of the State or from other states. The streets were crowded, and in the absence of hotel or other accommodations, many were compelled to sleep in their wagons or on the streets—the crowd being confessedly the largest that, up to that time, had ever assembled in the State on any public occasion, and being estimated by opponents of the movement as high as 40,000, and by its friends from 60,000 to 75,000, and by some even higher.

The meeting was held in what is now the western part of the city of Springfield, on the ground on which the first State fairs were held, but which, during the first year, of the war, was a recruiting camp and drilling field under the name of "Camp Yates." An imposing procession marched through the principal streets and to the ground under the direction of Col. John Williams as chief marshal, and speeches were delivered from half a dozen different stands with a presiding officer at each—among these being Hon. S. M. Cullom, Col. John Dougherty, Hon. S. W. Moulton and Judge Mark Bangs, the fifth stand being occupied entirely by German speakers. After the firing of a national salute, the first business was the reading of President Lincoln's letter from each stand, followed by letters and telegrams from those who had been unable to accept invitations to be present and participate in the proceedings. These included responses from Edward Everett of Massachusetts, Senator Dickinson of New York, Governor Blair of Michigan, Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, Congressman Bingham of Ohio, General Benj. F. Butler, and General John A. Logan and Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, both of whom were prevented from being present on account of illness. Speeches were delivered from the various stands by Senators Chandler of Michigan and Doolittle of Wisconsin, Henry S. Lane of Indiana, Governor Yates, General R. J. Oglesby, General Isham N. Haynie, General John A. McClernand, General B. M. Prentiss, Colonel John Dougherty, Congressman E. C. Ingersoll, Hon. Isaac N. Arnold and many other home speakers. The principal speakers at the German stand were Hon. Casper Butz of Chicago, H. Goedeking of Belleville, and Emil Pretorius of St. Louis. This, however, does not exhaust the list of orators who stirred the hearts of their hearers by their patriotic eloquence, appealing for the preservation of the Union without regard to party. A stirring meeting was also held in the evening in the public square in front of the court house.

[1] The correspondence with Mr. Lincoln by telegraph and otherwise, while he was considering the possibility of visiting Springfield in compliance with the invitation to be present at the Union mass meeting, and the final announcement of his intention to send a letter instead, includes the following, the first being a message by telegraph written on a blank of the old "Illinois and Mississippi Company—Caton Lines" (the predecessor of the "Western Union"), of which the late Colonel J. J. S. Wilson was superintendent, with headquarters at Springfield, and which is carefully preserved with the other papers:

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Aug. 20, 1863.—(By telegraph from Washington. 10:30 a. m., Aug. 20, 1863.)—The Hon. James C. Conkling: Your letter of the 14th is received. I think I will go or send a letter—probably the latter.

"A. LINCOLN. President."

On the lower left-hand corner of the message appears the following note from the operator, which may serve to indicate the means then thought advisable to keep the plans and movements of the President from becoming matter of public notoriety:

"Mr. C.—Mr. Wilson got this in cypher. OPERATOR."

A few days before the date of the meeting, Mr. Conkling received the following letter from Mr. Lincoln, written on a War Department letterhead, and enclosing his letter designed to be read at the meeting:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., Aug. 27, 1863.—My Dear Conkling: I cannot leave here now. Herewith is a letter instead. I have but one suggestion—read it very slowly. And now, God bless you and all good Union men.

"Yours as ever,
"[Private.]" "A. LINCOLN."

On the bottom of this letter Mr. Conkling added the following memorandum:

"The above letter was sent with the letter published in Holland's 'Life of Lincoln,' on page (420-21), and which was intended to be read at the Republican convention held at Springfield, September (3), 1863, and which was read at that time.

"JAMES C. CONKLING."

letter was to be made public, he threw into it all the power of persuasion and logical argument, of which he was so capable a master. Some of the passages in it, upon which have hinged the differences of construction alluded to in the opening part of this article, are as follows:

"You desire peace, and you blame me that we do not have it."[1]

"You are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject."

"You dislike the emancipation proclamation and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. . . . Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate favorably for the Union."

"You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively to save the Union."

It has been claimed—not generally, it is true, but in a few instances—that these passages were addressed primarily and mainly to the active promoters (Mr. Conkling and his associates) of this meeting of unconditional "Union men," called for the avowed and express purpose of sustaining the hands of the government in its struggle for the preservation of the Union, and that such extracts as these prove that Mr. Lincoln regarded these men as, in some way, hostile to his war policy and meant to rebuke them for their position, while using them as a medium to reach the Nation. That so distinguished an author as George Bancroft erred on this point is shown by the fact that, in his eloquent and inspiring address delivered before a joint session of the two Houses of Congress on February 12, 1866, in celebration of the first anniversary of Lincoln's birth after the date of his assassination, in introducing some extracts from the Lincoln-Conkling letter, he said: "He (Lincoln) wrote in reply to another caviler[1]—implying that Mr. Conkling, to whom the letter was addressed, was a "caviler," or unfair critic of Lincoln's policy. That he had found reason to change his opinion on this subject is shown by the modification of his language when this address appeared a few months later in book form, then saying, "He (Lincoln) wrote in reply to other cavils"[2]—indicating that the brilliant author had then learned that Lincoln's reply to his critics was not intended as a rebuke to Mr. Conkling and his associates connected with the Union mass meeting of September 3, 1863, but to his own enemies who were clamoring for "peace at any price" without regard to the preservation of the Union.

Indeed, it has been charged that there was a conspiracy among leading Republican politicians of Illinois, including those intimately connected with the State administration at that time, "to remove Mr. Lincoln by fair means or foul from his exalted position as leader of the political and military forces of the country and replace him with one of its own creatures," of which this meeting constituted a part; and it has been claimed that Mr. Lincoln used the occasion successfully to circumvent these schemes of his enemies within his own party.

To state such a proposition as to Mr. Lincoln and his most intimate and trusted personal and political friends, is to disprove it. Among the score or more of authors who, attracted by Mr. Lincoln's great name and illustrious career, have attempted to write his biography—all of whom, with a few unimportant exceptions, quote this remarkable letter and recognize the wonderful sweep and power of its argument—I have met with only one who takes the view of its purpose here controverted. This author goes to the point of speaking of the promoters of this meeting as "posing for the moment as unconditional Union men," and charges them with sending Mr. Lincoln "a written invitation to be present and hear himself discussed."

In order to give the color of plausibility to the construction of Mr. Lincoln's letter for which these writers contend, they are compelled not only to disregard the well-known character of Mr. Lincoln's friends in his own

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[1] "Congressional Globe" (1866), First session Thirty-ninth Congress (p. 804).

[2] "Memorial Address on the Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln" (in book form, p. 29).

State, who had steadily adhered to his political fortunes a quarter of a century, but to ignore the opening paragraphs of the letter itself, which furnish the keynote of its spirit and meaning as a whole. The letter is addressed to the Hon. James C. Conkling, one of Mr. Lincoln's most intimate personal and political friends, who had been a member of the Republican State Central committee and candidate for Presidential Elector for Mr. Lincoln's own district in 1860, as he was again for the same position in 1864. These facts indicate clearly the relations existing between him and the President. As already stated, he was Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements for the Springfield meeting, and in this capacity had written the letter inviting Mr. Lincoln to be present. In this letter, as quoted by Messrs. Nicolay and Hay in their Life of Lincoln, Mr. Conkling, in urging Mr. Lincoln's acceptance, had said:

"There is a bad element in this State as well as in others, and every public demonstration in favor of law and order and constitutional government will have a favorable influence. The importance of our meeting, therefore, at the capital of a State which has sent so many soldiers into the army and which exercises such a controlling power in the West cannot be overestimated."

Mr. Lincoln's reply was not only addressed to Mr. Conkling, but was accompanied with a request that he should read it to the approaching mass-meeting. In the opening paragraphs, after expressing the satisfaction it would give him to meet his "old friends" at his "own home," which he is precluded from doing by the exigencies of the public business, and after recognizing the character of the proposed meeting in the fact that it was "to be composed of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union," to whom he tenders "the Nation's gratitude," as he does to those "other noble men whom no partisan malice or partisan hope can make false to the Nation's life," he says: "There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say."

Then follows that marvelous argument in proof that the only hope of peace with preservation of the Union is to suppress the rebellion by force of arms—in defense of the emancipation proclamation, the employment of negroes as soldiers, and of the war policy of the administration in general, closing with an encouraging enumeration of the signs of final triumph and an appeal to the patriotism of all—that stirred the hearts of Union men throughout the Nation. How absurd to say of the argument in defense of the emancipation proclamation that it was intended for those who, if they differed with Mr. Lincoln at all on this question, did so because it was not issued as early as they desired. And so of the rest.

It is evident that Mr. Lincoln had in mind, first of all, the objectors to his policy who were obstructing the measures taken for the preservation of the Union, and meant, after answering them, to arouse all alike to the duty of preserving the Nation's life. And that it had the desired effect is shown in the response it evoked wherever the national flag gave protection to complete freedom of opinion.[1]

But this construction of Mr. Lincoln's intention in penning this memorable letter is not dependent upon the opinion of any single latter-day reader. The Hon. James C. Conkling, who received it and by special request of Mr. Lincoln, read it at the meeting of September, 1863, and who still lives[1] at his old home and that of his friend, the martyred President, should of all living men be best qualified to state what was the true meaning of its author. In a letter to the writer of this article during the present year, with the original of Mr. Lincoln's letter lying before him, Mr. Conkling wrote as follows:

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[1] Other examples of Lincoln's peculiar style of argument, aiming at his opponents while addressing his friends, might be cited, one of the most noticeable being in a speech delivered by him at Galena during the Fremont campaign in 1856, a "fragment" of which is preserved in the Nicolay and Hay edition of the Lincoln "Addresses and Letters," (Vol. I, pp. 220-221). In this he says:

"We, the majority, would not strive to destroy the Union; and if any attempt is made, it must be you, who so loudly stigmatize us as disunionists. But the Union in any event will not be dissolved. We don't want to dissolve it, and if you attempt it, we won't let you. . . . All this talk about the dissolution of the Union is humbug—nothing but folly. We don't want to dissolve the Union; you shall not."

The same sentiments, and almost the same language—whether accurately or not—are used in the Whitney report of the "Lost Speech," as delivered at Bloomington on May 29, 1856.

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., March 16, 1895.

Paul Selby, Esq.:

MY DEAR SIR—Your esteemed favor of the 15th inst., is received. There seems to be some misunderstanding as to the meaning and intent of a portion of President Lincoln's letter to me dated August 26, 1863. I have the original letter now in my desk before me.

"A charge is now made that, although the letter was addressed to those who promoted or composed the mass-meeting, yet some of its leaders were conspirators against Mr. Lincoln and opposed his aspirations for the Presidency a second time, and that they assumed the title of unconditional Union men when, in fact, they were dissatisfied and criticised the policy of the administration. This charge is perfectly absurd. The Executive Committee and leaders of the movement would not stultify themselves by assuming a name to which they were not entitled. At that period the great mass of the Republican party were terribly in earnest. They needed no concealment of their plans and purposes. Our armies had recently achieved glorious victories. Vicksburg had fallen and the battle of Gettysburg had been won. The emancipation proclamation had been issued and the rebellion was being crushed. The rifle was placed in the hands of the ex-slave and he became an efficient part of our armies and bravely fought for the preservation of the Union and his own liberty. This was one of the grandest measures of the administration and Mr. Lincoln naturally felt solicitous for its complete success. After acknowledging the receipt of the invitation to attend the mass-meeting of unconditional Union men on the 3d of September, 1863, he immediately commences an argument, not with the unconditional Union men, but with others who criticised his policy and attempted to defeat his plans. He rebuked those who were for peace at any price and denounced those who proclaimed their treasonable utterances so boldly at that period and claimed the war to be a failure. Mr. Lincoln's letter opens as follows:

" 'The Hon. James C. Conkling—My Dear Sir: Your letter inviting me to attend a mass-meeting of unconditional Union men to be held at the capital of Illinois on the third day of September has been received. It would be very agreeable to me to there meet my old friends at my own home, but I cannot just now be absent from here so long as a visit there would require.

" 'The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union, and I am sure my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the national gratitude to those other noble men whom no partisan malice or partisan hope can make false to the Nation's life.'

"From this it can be seen that Mr. Lincoln knew he was invited to address men who preferred the preservation of the Union to every other consideration. They had no criticisms to make upon his policy. They submitted to his superior wisdom and judgment. They were gratified with his success and were willing to trust him for the future. There was no necessity for arguing with such men. They were already convinced that Mr. Lincoln was right, and they were willing to adopt his policy unconditionally and without any objection.

"But Mr. Lincoln proceeds: 'There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say, you desire peace and you blame me that we do not have it.'

"But these persons did not belong to said convention. They had no sympathy with it. They wanted peace at any price. They preferred the dissolution of the Union to the abolition of slavery. They gave aid and comfort to the enemy. They strove to make the rebellion triumphant over the Union. Yet Mr. Lincoln reasoned with them fairly and honestly and endeavored to convince them of their errors and their folly.

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[1] Mr. Conkling died in his home at Springfield, March 1, 1899.

"The argument was made for their benefit, although the letter was read to a mass-meeting of unconditional Union men. Yours truly,

JAMES C. CONKLING."

Testimony like this, coming from the man to whom this historical paper was addressed and who knew the spirit and motives of the men whom he had represented in penning the invitation which called it forth; who had been the close political ally and personal friend of Mr. Lincoln through his whole public career, and was familiar with all his modes of thought and action, and who twice cast the vote for Lincoln's own district in the Electoral College of Illinois for his friend, should be conclusive on this purpose. It would be the height of absurdity to charge Mr. Lincoln, even by implication, with using an occasion of such transcendent importance to the Union cause, when the fate of the Nation was at stake, to promote the chances of his renomination for the Presidency one year later, and with offering a scarcely veiled insult to his "old friends" in his "own home," by asking one of them to read a paper intended to be a rebuke and a reproach of the reader and his associates. Abraham Lincoln was neither a political trickster seeking his own advancement by the arts of the demagogue, nor was he an ungrateful friend seeking to humiliate his most earnest supporters.

If any further evidence were needed on this point, it is furnished in the closing sentence of the private letter (quoted in a footnote on a preceding page of this paper), in which he enclosed the letter to be read at the Union mass-meeting. In that letter, speaking with an earnestness and emphasis that seemed almost impassioned, he said: 'God bless you and all good Union men.'"

That the importance of this letter has not been overestimated is capable of demonstration from contemporaneous and subsequent tributes to it. Messrs. Nicolay and Hay, in their "Life of Lincoln," say of it:

"Among all the state papers of Mr. Lincoln from his nomination to his death this letter is unique. It may be called his last stump speech; the only one made during his Presidency. We find in it all the qualities that made him in Illinois the incomparable political leader of his party for a generation. There is the same close, unerring logic, the same innate perception of political conduct, the same wit and sarcasm, the same touch of picturesque eloquence, which abounded in his earlier and more careless oratory, but all wonderfully heightened, strengthened, and chastened by a sense of weighty responsibility. . . . It was, like most of his speeches, addressed mostly to his opponents, and in this short space he appealed successively to their reason, to their sympathies, and to their fears. . . . The style . . . is as remarkable as its matter; each sentence, like a trained athlete, is divested of every superfluous word and syllable, yet nowhere is there a word lacking any more than a word too much."

It met instant approval alike from the ablest politicians, statesmen, and rhetoricians. Charles Sumner wrote, indorsing it as "a noble letter," "a historical document," and declared "it cannot be answered." Henry Wilson spoke of it as "noble, patriotic, and Christian," and predicted that it would be "on the lips and in the hearts of hundreds and thousands this day." The venerable and scholarly Josiah Quincy pronounced it "happy, timely, conclusive, and effective," and declared, in view of the assaults made upon Mr. Lincoln's character, "the development is an imperishable monument of wisdom and virtue."[1]

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[1] Nicolay and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln—A History" (pp. 379-385).

It is due, not alone to Mr. Lincoln's personal and political friends in his own State, who, whatever might have been their differences on minor details of policy, always stood true in support of his great measures, but to the memory of Mr. Lincoln himself, that this now famous letter should be understood as its sagacious and illustrious author intended.

PAUL SELBY.

TRIBUNE COMMENT.

The original communication of which the preceding article is a copy, with some added facts in foot-notes, was published in the Chicago Tribune of June 23, 1895, under the title, "Light on a Famous Lincoln Letter—What the Martyr President Really Meant in his Epistle to James C. Conkling." On the editorial page of the same issue appeared the following paragraph from the pen of the late Joseph Medill, then editor-in-chief of the paper:

"THE TRIBUNE prints on another page of today's paper, the notable or "unique" letter written by Abraham Lincoln to James C. Conkling, of Springfield, in 1863, and read at the mass-meeting of Union men held at the State capital September 3 of that year. This is accompanied by a communication from Paul Selby, in which he controverts successfully the claim which has been made sometimes that some of the passages of Mr. Lincoln's letter were addressed primarily to some of the promoters of the mass-meeting in question, who, it has been alleged, were unfriendly to Mr. Lincoln and were conspiring against him. Mr. Selby shows that the passages of the letter on which this claim has been based—such as "You desire peace, and you blame me that we do not have it," or, "You dislike the emancipation proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted"—were not intended for the benefit of the Union men who called, or who attended, the mass-meeting, but were addressed to a very different constituency—that is, to those who were openly and avowedly opposed to his policy. The letter was a stump speech of remarkable ability, and which had a wonderful effect. It is worth reading as an admirable example of Mr. Lincoln's political sagacity, his logical and argumentative powers, and his terse, forcible English."

BRIEF SKETCH OF MR. CONKLING.

James Cook Conkling was born in New York City, Oct. 13, 1816: graduated from Princeton College, New Jersey, in 1835; studied law and was admitted to the bar at Morristown, New Jersey, in 1838, when he removed to Springfield, Ill., and had for his first partner in the practice of his profession Cyrus Walker, an eminent lawyer of his time, later being associated in the same capacity with General James Shields, a soldier of the Mexican War, who also served as United States Senator at different periods from Illinois, Minnesota and Missouri. Always a political and personal friend of Abraham Lincoln after coming to Illinois, Mr. Conkling served one term as mayor of the city of Springfield (1844-45), and two terms as Representative in the General Assembly from Sangamon county (1851-52 and 1867-68); was a member of the Committee on Resolutions in the Republican State convention at Bloomington in 1856, and by the same convention was appointed a member of the State Central Committee; also, in 1860 and again in 1864, was chosen Presidential Elector for the Springfield District, on both occasions casting his vote in the Electoral College for Abraham Lincoln for President. Besides holding various appointive offices during the war period, for the the last thirty years of his life he served as a member of the Lincoln Monument Association and as Postmaster of the city of Springfield from 1890 to 1894. His death occurred March 1, 1899.

LINCOLN'S FAMOUS LETTER.

Full Text of the Document Written to James C. Conkling in 1863.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., August 26, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling:

Dear Sir—Your letter inviting me to attend a mass-meeting of unconditional Union men, to be held at the capital of Illinois on the 3d day of September, has been received. It would be very agreeable for me thus to meet my old friends at my own home, but I cannot just now be absent from here so long as a visit there would require.

The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union, and I am sure that my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the Nation's gratitude to those noble men whom no partisan malice or partisan hope can make false to the Nation's life.

There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say: You desire peace and you blame me that we do not have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways: First—to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are agreed. If you are not for it, a second way is to give up the Union. I am against this. Are you for it? If you are, you should say so plainly. If you are not for force, nor yet for dissolution, there only remains some imaginable compromise.

I do not believe that any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible. All that I learn leads to a directly opposite belief. The strength of the rebellion is its military, its army. That army dominates all the country and all the people within its range. Any offer of terms made by any man or men within that range in opposition to that army is simply nothing for the present, because such man or men have no power whatever to enforce their side of a compromise if one were made with them.

To illustrate: Suppose refugees from the South and peace men of the North get together in convention and frame and proclaim a compromise embracing a restoration of the Union. In what way can that compromise be used to keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? Meade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania and, I think, can ultimately drive it out of existence. But no paper compromise to which the controllers of Lee's army are not agreed can at all affect that army. In an effort at such compromise we would waste time, which the enemy would improve to our disadvantage, and that would be all.

A compromise to be effective must be made either with the rebel army or with the people first liberated from the domination of that army by the success of our own army. Now allow me to assure you that no word or intimation from the rebel army, or from any of the men controlling it, in relation to any peace compromise has ever come to my knowledge or belief. All charges and insinuations to the contrary are deceptive and groundless. And I promise you that, if any such proposition shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept a secret from you. I freely acknowledge myself to be the servant of the people according to the bond of service, the United States Constitution, and that, as such, I am responsible to them.

But to be plain. You are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while you, I suppose, do not. Yet I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure which is not consistent even with your view, provided that you are for the Union. I suggested compensated emancipation, to which you replied you wished not to be taxed to buy negroes. But I had not asked you to be taxed to buy negroes, except in such a way as to save you from greater taxation to save the Union exclusively by other means.

You dislike the emancipation proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its Commander-in-Chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said, if so much, is, that slaves are property. Is there, has there ever been, any question that, by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever it helps us and hurts the enemy? Armies the world over destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it, and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female.

But the proclamation, as a law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid it needs no retraction. If it is valid it cannot be retracted any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate unfavorably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation was issued, the last 100 days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before.

I know, as fully as one can know the opinion of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important victories, believe the emancipation policy and the use of colored troops constitute the heaviest blows yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of those important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of the black soldiers.

Among the commanders who hold these views are some who have never had an affinity with what is called "abolitionism" or with "Republican party politics," but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit their opinions as entitled to some weight against the objections, often urged, that emancipation and arming the blacks are unwise as military measures and were not adopted as such in good faith.

You say that you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes. I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes shall cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motives, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept.

The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it; nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a helping hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be slighted who bore an honorable part in it. And while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been more bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro, Gettysburg, and on many fields of less note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present, not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all. For the great republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all.

Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon and come to stay, and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the costs. And there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clinched teeth, and steady eye, and well poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that, with malignant heart and deceitful speech, they have striven to hinder it.

Still let us not be oversanguine of a speedy, final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

CONFLICTING ACCOUNTS FOUND IN EARLY ILLINOIS HISTORY.

By J. F. Steward.

So many are the conflicting statements left by the trappers, traders and explorers of the Illinois country that only by years of research can the exact facts be sifted out of the accumulation of historical rubbish. Often the events that were recorded in the early accounts found their way into print only after passing from mouth to mouth, the result of which was that the time of events and the definite places became lost, and the facts became decidedly mixed.

No less is it true that the early map makers were often guided by vague descriptions; the errors once delineated were often for a long time repeated by other cartographers. The attempt of Franquelin, in 1684, to delineate the Illinois country, may well be considered to have resulted in a map which, in general outline, was more nearly correct than those of many who came after.

LaSalle had planned and partly perfected his "Colonie du Sieur de LaSalle," had passed several times from his newly built Ft. St. Louis, on what is now known as Starved Rock, to the Chicago portage, by way of the trail that touched Fox river at its many bends, and had given to Franquelin the only details available; hence the tortuous river shown, the Pestecuoy—the river of the Buffalo.

The "Great village of Maramech," as referred to by the French officials, the Miami town, is found on the map near what is now known as Sylvan Spring, in Kendall county. Over the borders of this beautiful stream, then as now, the great trees interlocked their densely clothed branches, and 'neath these, near the spring, no doubt, were the principal cabins of the town so often referred to by Parrot, the official representative of New France, among the middle western tribes. Here, quite likely, was one of his trading posts. Be that as it may, the trinkets of French make, found in the graves, on the sunny bluff bordering the stream, tell of the nearness of the French traders. La Potherie, in his "Histoire de L'Amérique Septentrionale," 1722, tells us much about the Miami town; and the accounts found in the New York "Colonial documents" often refer to "that great village," where, in 1694, "Na-nan-gous-sis-ta and Ma-ci-ton-ga" were the chiefs. The dread of the "five nations," the Iroquois, more than that of any other, prompted measures of defense among the tribes of the west, and the villages located near strategic points were usually well stockaded.

Near the site of the Miami village a great rounded wooded island-like hill rises between two small streams on the east and south, and on the west and north is bounded by a swamp. My researches, during the last thirty years, have resulted in the accumulation of details that have enabled me to restore much of the lost history of the region. The graves have also yielded up their secrets, and the plows that have turned over the fields of Maramech have turned to the eyes of eager collectors the treasures that speak, though without a tongue. By common consent the eminence above referred to is now called "Maramech Hill." By what names the smaller streams that add their mites to the greater one along whose banks were the cabins and fields, we shall not know. The prairies through which course those beautifully wooded streams, more than elsewhere in the west, were the homes of the buffalo before the arrival of the French. This true, very naturally we find the river to have been named after that majestic beast. We now know it as Fox river, and it is of one of the most sanguinary tragedies of our State, of which I write, that led to the name it now bears.

From the northmost height of Maramech Hill, a little more than two miles down the greater stream (a little less than an old French league, 2.42 miles) rise beside the river two great rounded rocky mounds, thirty-five feet above the stream, the larger an acre in extent. After came the traders in canoes, both from the north and the south, the stream was christened anew, as "Riviere du Rocher"—River of the rock—while what we know as Rock river retained its original Algonquin name Assinnisipi, Stony river.

The new name given to our river, by the French, was adopted by some of the English map makers, as late as 1756.

It was only prominent characteristics and important events that led to changes of names long used. A little more than a hundred miles to the north is another river known by the French, from the beginning, as "Riviere des Renards," which name translated into our language is Fox river. It seems clear to me that it could have been but an event of great importance that led the French to duplicate a river's name, the name of a river so near by and in their own dominion.

With all of the above in mind, I am now prepared to repeat, notwithstanding newly discovered proofs to the contrary, that the slaughter of 1730, by the French and their Indian allies, here took place. "Riviere des Renards," river of the slaughter of the Fox tribe. How appropriate the name the French last gave it! Well may it be so known until some greater event warants a change.

When the fragment of history I am correcting was being written the rock which still characterizes it, despite the quarryman's labors, was considered a landmark. Our river, a few miles below, washes the bases of cliffs, the planes of which pass off far inland beneath the wooded river border and prairies beyond. The French word "rocher" refers to high rounded rocky eminences.

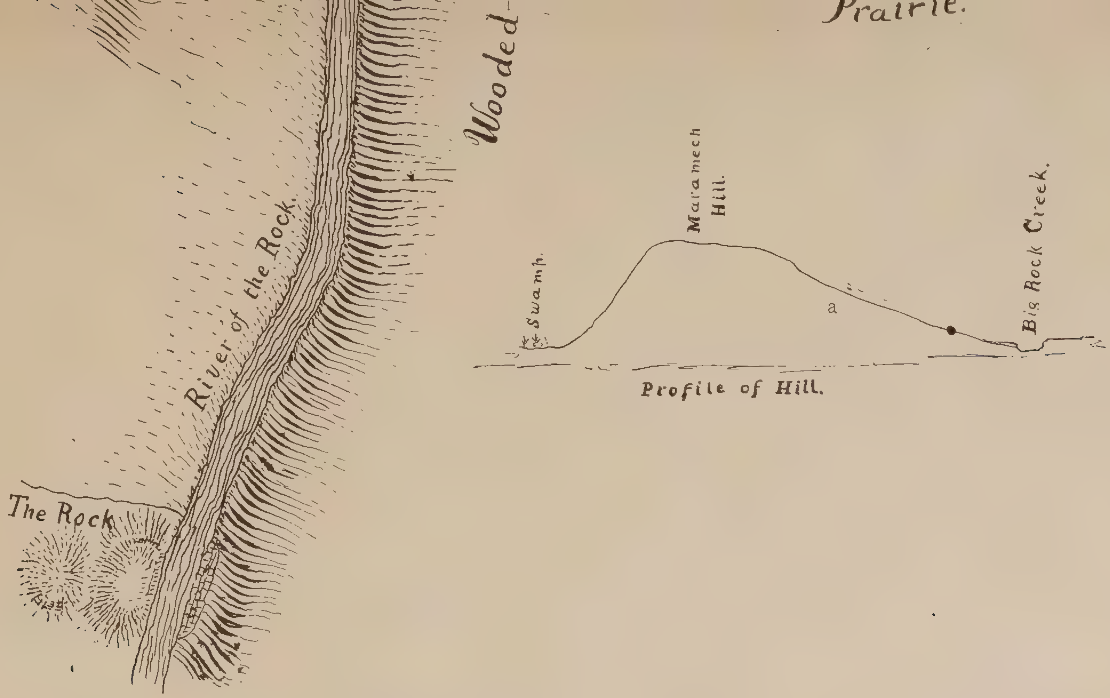
It applies well to Starved Rock, within about eight miles of which our river enters the Illinois. Educated Frenchmen confirm my interpretation of the term which as applied to our river has reference to a river characterized by a rock, rather than to a river the course of which is somewhat near another landmark known as "the Rock."

Aside from the obscure military reports, many of which I unearthed in Paris, and for the first time translated into our language, the fact that a second "rock" existed other than that about thirty miles to the southwest, on which Fort St. Louis stood, might long have remained unknown. This accounts for the fact that the place of the tragedy of 1730, partly told of by Ferland, merely referred to by three other well-known writers, has not been known until my discoveries, ripened during the last thirty years.

Davidson, in "Unnamed Wisconsin," says "the worst of the war occurred near Rock St. Louis, on the Illinois river." He does not say how near the rock, nor do the military accounts say that the defeat of the Foxes, September 9th, took place near the Illinois river. It was the burning of the son of the chief of the Illinois tribe, some time before the preceding July, that occurred near the Illinois river. (Correspondent General, 1732, CLVII, p. 316, quoted in "Lost Maramech and Earliest Chicago," p. 375). All of the Illinois tribe were at first called Illinois of the Rock, because as early as 1673, when Joliet and Marquette passed up the river, the principal Illinois village, Kaskaskia, was located opposite the landmark we know as Starved Rock. They were driven away by the Iroquois to the new Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi river; the Peoria branch of the tribe remained in the vicinity and were known as the Illinois of the Rock, while the branch that fled to the south were known principally as the Cohokia branch.

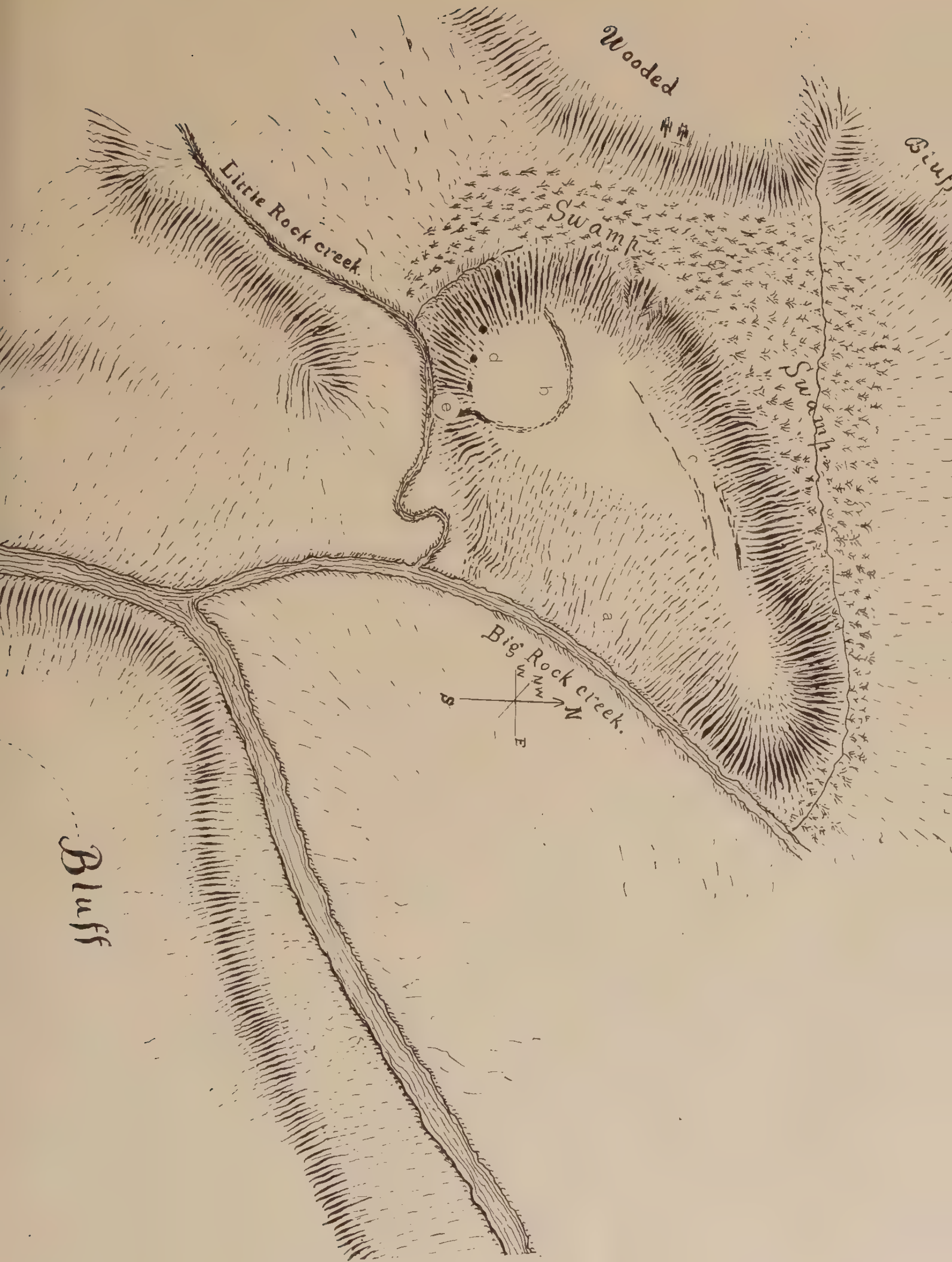
If, by any construction, the account can be inferred to mean that the tragedy was enacted near the Rock on the Illinois river, then I say twelve leagues between it and Maramech Hill is not far if the distance DeLery places the site of the fort, fifty leagues away, is "near," as he states. Hebbard, in "Wisconsin under French Dominion," speaks of the tragedy, but makes no mention of the place. Parkman, in his "Half century of conflict," says: "The account of the affair is obscure and not very trustworthy. It seems that the Ontagamies (Foxes) began the affair by an attack on the Illinois at LaSalle's old station, "LeRocher," on the Illinois river." I admit that the accounts are confusing, which fact calls for this article, but I can say that it is clear that Parkman has no authority for saying that the affair, as he terms it, took place at the "Rock." It seems that, for the moment, when writing the above, he did not recall the fact that the Illinois had long before 1730 abandoned their old home. For a number of years the region had been no-man's-land; it was merely a hunting ground into which only the brave dared to step.

In order to make clear my interpretation of the accounts, I have prepared a map of Maramech Hill, and vicinity, which the reader will see, checks up with every detail found in the military reports that is in any way descriptive. We read that there had been fighting between several tribes and the Foxes, and that on August 22, 1730, a letter was written by the commandant at Detroit, saying fighting had taken place "be-



a, the gentle slope.
b, the enclosure.
c, the trenches.
d, the rifle pits.
e, the covered way.

MAP OF MARAMECH HILL AND VICINITY.


Wooded
Little Rock creek
Swamp
Swamp
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b
e
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Big Rock creek
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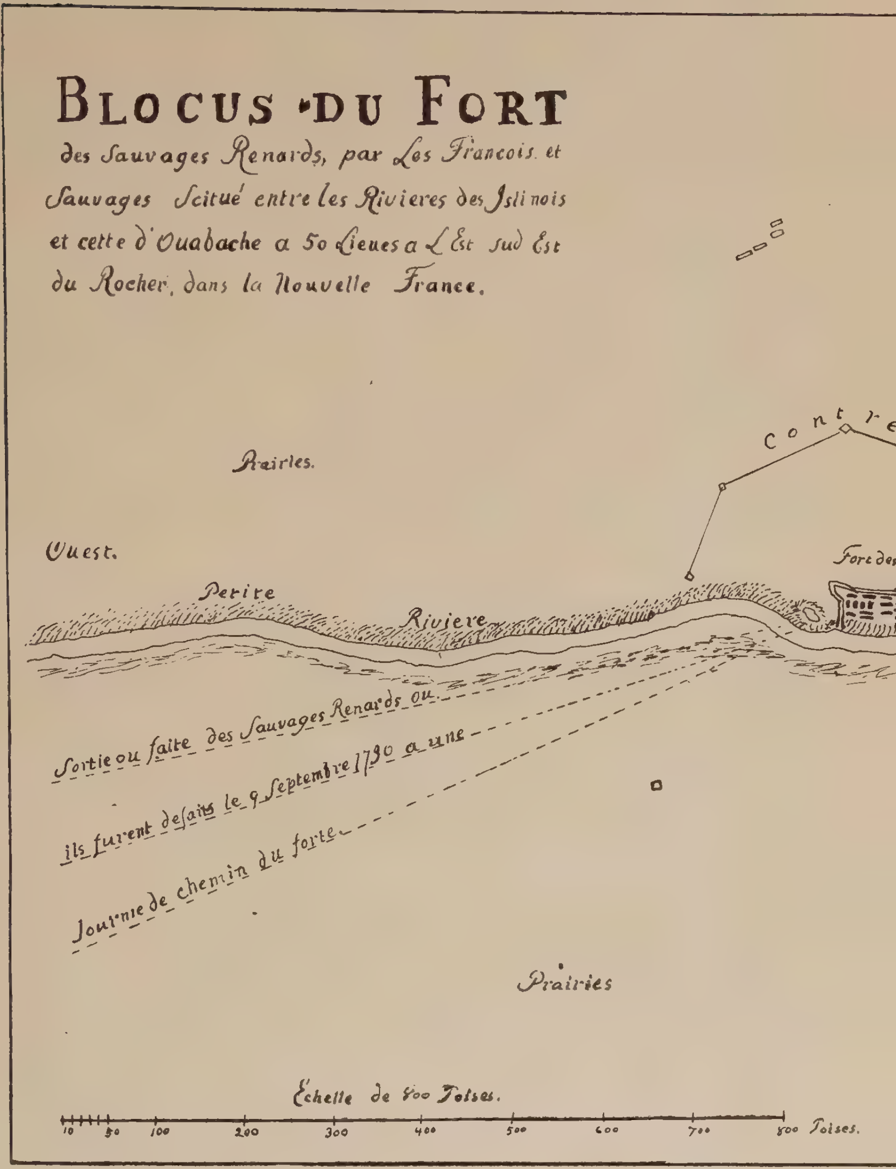
Bluff



BLOCUS DU FORT
des Sauvages Renards, par Les François et
Sauvages Scitué entre les Rivieres des Islinois
et cette d'Ouabache a 50 Lieues a L'Est sud Est
du Rocher, dans la Nouvelle France.

Prairies.
Ouest.
Petite
Riviere
Cont re
Fort des
Sortie ou faite des Sauvages Renards ou
ils furent defaits le 9 Septembre 1730 a une
Journée de chemin du forte
Prairies
Échelle de 800 Toises.
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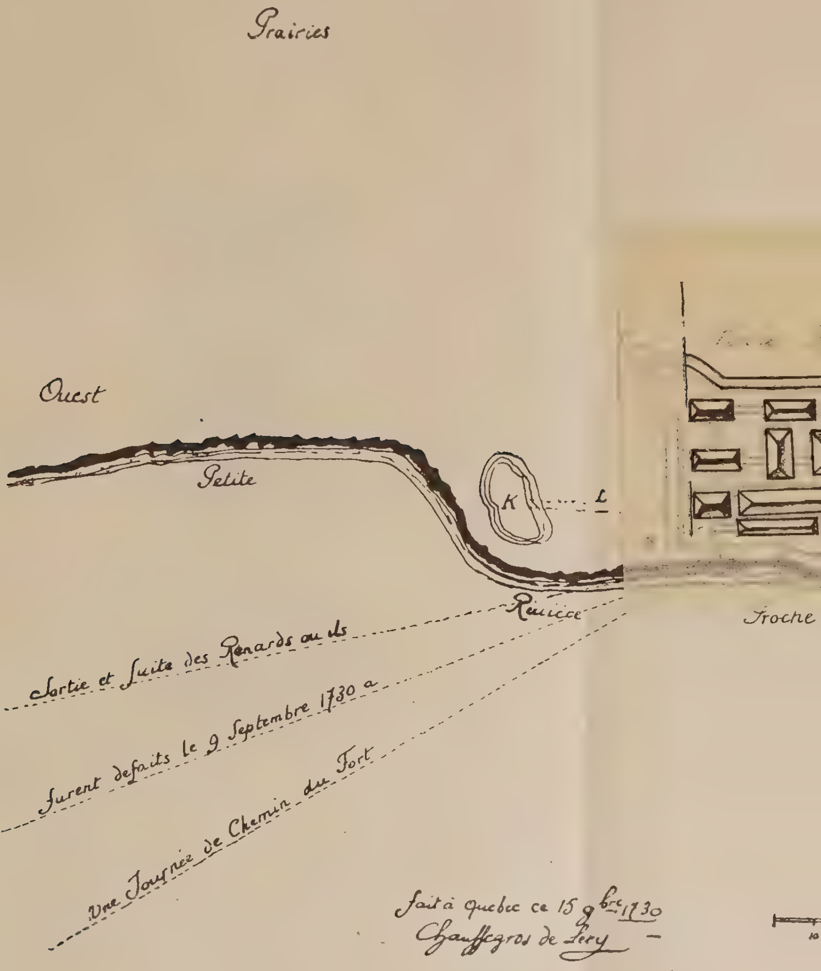
Plan du Fort des Sauuages Renards Scitüé entre les Riuières des Islinois et celle d'ouabache a 50 Lieüe a L'Est-sud-Est du Rocker dans la nouuelle France



Sortie et fuite des Renards ou ils furent defaits le 9 Septembre 1730 a Une Journée de Chemin du Fort

fait à quebec ce 15 9^{bre} 1730
Chaussegros de Lery

We read in the reports that St. Ange constructed a small fort at the distance of two pistol shots, which was to cut them off from communication with the river.

Now, this fits Maramech Hill well, where, on its southern summit, to which the "gentle slope" reaches, is a semi-circular ditch, in places three feet deep, and a ridge that, with the brow of the hill, completes a circle. This enclosure must have been palasaded as was the custom of the savages. After the hill was stripped of the great trees (where oft I sought the summer shade) with nothing left to check the flow resulting from heavy storms, the abrupt hillside became gullied. Where now the gravel is laid bare was plainly seen a continuation of the ditch yet so plain upon the hill. Until turned by the hand of man, to turn his wheels, the smaller creek ran at the foot of the hill, and there the ditch leading to the water met it. In the wide gully, cut out by the heavy rains, a French axe, such as was exchanged for furs, was found. This axe, no doubt, was used in constructing the palasade and covering over the waterway, of which the accounts speak.

OLD FRENCH BATTLE AXE.

About two pistol shots southward from the foot of the hill, where the ditch terminated, is a point of bluff, and here, it seems, must have been St. Ange's little fort.

The accounts also say that the Foxes escaped during a cold, stormy night, were followed at dawn and soon overtaken. Upon a hill, across the valley and a mile to the northeast, in a plowed field, where, not many years ago was heavy timber, I found arrow points more abundant than ever elsewhere. No evidence of a village site is there seen, and I can in no other way account for the many arrows than that there must have been an engagement, or that there some or all of the captives, a thousand or more, may have been shot to death.

The letter written by Marupas, December 18, 1731, says: "They (the Foxes) had gained a bunch of woods, where they had fortified themselves." De Lery's map, however, shows the fort on the open prairie.

On the 10th of August, we are informed, De Villiers left his post, on the St. Joseph river (where is now South Bend) and arrived on the scene on the 20th. Now, if the Foxes were near Rock on the Illinois river, or the Rock on the Fox river, then, even though he carried the two small pieces of artillery, he must have made exceedingly slow progress, for the distance is about 120 miles, from either place. But if the Foxes were fifty leagues, 120 miles, east, southeast, of either of the Rocks, then the distance traveled by De Villiers was not far from half as great, a five mile rate of travel, per day is ridiculously small.

The military reports put the fort in a bunch of woods in a vast prairie, but De Lery places it on a prairie. We read that St. Ange had camped on the left of the river, and De Villiers on the right, but De Lery reverses the positions.

About two years ago I learned that somewhere might be found two maps purporting to show the location of the fort where the Foxes were defeated, and at once began efforts to find them, with the result that I am able to here present them.

Upon the margin of the map is a legend. With reference to this French, it looks as though it had been written by an ignorant man, in addition to the fact that it was written some two centuries ago. The translation reads:

"The three sides B C, B D and D E were enclosed with two rows of stakes planted in the earth. The rows six feet apart were leaning likewise and crossed at the upper ends. The interval formed in the profile was filled with earth which formed a sloping wall on the outside and one inside supported by stakes that they had covered with earth and sod to protect them from fire and there appeared outside only the ends of the stakes above the place where they crossed. All this parapet erected on the the plat of ground was about twelve or fourteen feet in height marked on profile F. Without these three sides there was a ditch adjoining marked G of about five or six feet wide and five feet in depth of which the earth served to fill the interval between the stakes forming the enclosure. The Foxes came out of the fort into the ditch by small passage descents underground four feet in height marked H, whose entrance into the fort passed under the parapet and went to the bottom of the ditch to permit shooting over the esplanade in such a way that they were not seen. On the side of the river B E there were only two rows of stakes on the edge which is steep. At this place about fifteen feet high they had made underground passages, marked 1, 1, 1, in order to go after water in safety. They began in the cellars at the fort and went to the river; they were made like the passages in the ditch. There is a height marked K which commanded the fort, they had made an underground gallery marked L which had its entrance in the fort and the exit went to the top of the height which they had occupied, of a parapet like that of the fort. In the fort they dug several ditches like cellars marked in the profile M seven or eight feet in depth and of different shapes with communications among themselves. The whole was covered with pieces of wood with dirt on top and above each ditch there was a roof with different slopes covered with dirt and sods provided with holes. Their design was to make use of the ditch outside to retard the approach (of the enemy), the parapet to prevent the entrance into the fort, if they were obliged to shut themselves under the roofs to shoot, and not being able to hold out there, to escape by the passages underground which go to the river that is fordable."

If the reader will consider the De Lery maps carefully, he will find them to correspond in no respect, except as to the prairie country generally, and the date of the escape, with the reports of the military writers, all of whom agree in some details and do not contradict each other in any particular. De Lery, the map maker, was a military engineer, at Quebec, and it is quite likely that the details from which he worked were given him by some irresponsible person; the military reports are dated later than the maps, which show October 15, 1730.

Beauharnois and Hoquart, at Quebec, on November 2, 1730, reported to the minister saying that the son of De Villiers "had just arrived, despatched by his father, to bring us the news of the almost total defeat of the Foxes," etc. They say that the report was hastily prepared as the vessel by which it was to be sent was about to depart. Neither this nor any military report I have been able to find has reference to any maps or plans.

Now, although De Lery's map is dated October 15, we see that the official information had just arrived, before the writing of the report. De Lery's maps are full of details, and large as they are (the copies herewith being very much reduced) must have required several days' time to make, and hence it is unreasonable to suppose that De Lery had gotten his information a month, more or less, before the official report was received. All this confirms my belief that the map maker worked hastily from incorrect accounts, or that he got two or more stories mixed.

Now, De Lery tells us that the fort was fifty leagues (a little over 120 miles) east, southeast of the Rock, and shows it as located on an abrupt bluff along a little river. Referring to the fort, one of the official reports says: "It was a little thicket of woods enclosed [merely] with stakes, and situated upon "a gentle slope which rose in the direction of the west and northwest along a little river; so that, from the south and southeast one saw them plainly."

De Lery places the fort by a "Little river near the Macopin." Referring to French maps of that day, we find that the Macopin (the name on some of them spelled Masopin) was where it now is, near the mouth of the Illinois river, over one hundred miles southwestward from one of the Rocks I am considering, and about thirty miles farther from the other. St. Ange knew the river well, as it enters the Illinois less than one hundred miles above his old station, at Fort Chartres, and his report does not mention it as being near the fort. Its mouth was a landmark on two of the routes between Canada and Louisiana so often followed by the French, which shows the confusion to have been in De Lery's mind only.

De Lery's abrupt bluff rises in but one direction, while the reports refer to the gentle slope rising in two directions, "west and northwest."

Now, a sloping piece of land cannot rise in two directions unless the hill is part of an amphitheater, as, for instance, the curve in Maramech Hill.

De Lery's maps show his little river running due east along an abrupt bluff, while the military reports indicate, clearly, that the little river must run southeast along the slope, *a*, as the larger creek of the Rock runs, shown on the map of Maramech Hill and vicinity, which I have prepared.

The scars at *c*, in the sod of the northern summit of the hill show where the French trenches were made. The ditch *b*, is still about two feet deep, at its eastern terminus. The rifle pits, at *d*, on the southern brow of the hill are plain. The ditch *e* to the little creek was plain until gullied out. The enclosure until recent years was a grove of large trees. In the gully, in the clean gravel, was found a fine French axe, a French gun flint was found nearby.

Fox river, at the time of the affair, was called river of the Rock. Now, may it not be that De Lery's informant, in his confusion, gave the river nearby the wrong name?

It will be seen that De Lery's plan of the fort is minute in every detail, although the accounts say it was merely a staked enclosure, the style of the fortification being well shown. If De Lery may be relied upon, the Fox fort must have equalled anything in modern warfare. The bomb-proofs, as we well may call them, were very spacious, and the entire underground work of immense capacity, the whole very unlike what the military accounts refer to, "mere holes, like the dens of foxes."

As a matter of fact, the Foxes had but recently been driven to their place of defense and could not have built works so extensive in so short a time. Furthermore, no works equalling those shown were ever found, made by the Indians, in any part of the country. The Iroquois fort shown by Champlain is comparatively insignificant.

De Lery was a military engineer, as stated, and, it seems probable, was desirous of making a good showing. It may be, however, that it was his informant that overdrew.

IV.

Translations and Reprints.

EARNEST INVITATION TO THE INHABITANTS OF ILLINOIS BY AN INHABITANT OF KASKASKIA.

Translated with Introduction by Lydia Marie Brauer.

[Only one copy of the pamphlet,—translated below, is known to have been preserved, and is to be found in the Ridgeway branch of the Philadelphia Library Company. On this copy has been printed by Du Simitiere, in whose library it formerly was, the date 1772 and the name of Philadelphia as the place of publication. Further information in regard to the pamphlet is not evident on title page or cover.

In 1908, Messrs. C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter edited the pamphlet for the Club of Colonial Reprints of Providence, Rhode Island. By a careful study of the conditions existing in Illinois at the time, they concluded that the pamphlet was written by a member of the French party of Illinois, that was attempting to persuade the British ministry to establish some form of civil government in this country.

By the famous proclamation of 1763, the King of Great Britain had reserved for the hunting grounds of the Indians the land west of the Alleghanies, so that the French villages on the Great Lakes and in the Illinois country were left without any form of civil administration. There were several attempts in the succeeding years to persuade the ministry to create a colony in Illinois; but by 1768, a decision that seemed final was reached that no settlements west of the Indian boundary line established during that and the following years, should be allowed for the present.

This decision of the British government left the French in the West in a hopeless condition, all the more aggravating on account of the petty tyranny of Major Wilkins, the military commandant. The leading French citizens, therefore, took the matter into their own hands, instead of trusting to the American traders on whom they had hitherto leaned. In 1770 they appointed one of their number, Daniel Blouin to represent their grievances to General Gage and through him to the ministry. It was while Blouin was in New York petitioning Gage, that this pamphlet was printed in Philadelphia; and it is possible that it was written by the French agent, but there is no decisive proof of this fact.

The only result of this agitation was that the British ministry realized more fully the injustice that had been done the French in the West, so that when, at last, the conditions in Canada came under consideration, the subject of the West was also taken up. The consequence was the Quebec Act of 1774, by which the Old Northwest with its French population was added to Canada and assured the protection in civil cases of the French law, to which they had been accustomed. The outbreak of the American Revolution prohibited, however, the inauguration of the civil government in Illinois, that had been planned.]

AN EARNEST INVITATION TO THE INHABITANTS OF ILLINOIS.

By An Inhabitant of Kaskaskia.

My Brothers, Knowledge is of little use when it is restricted to mere speculation; but when speculative truths are reduced to practical ones, when theories based upon experience are applied to the habits of life, and when, by this means, agriculture is perfected, commerce extended, the facilities of life rendered more easy and more agreeable, and consequently, the development and welfare of the human race is augmented, then knowledge is advantageous.

All the members of a society who have the ability and the power are, without doubt, under obligations to contribute to the advancement of knowledge. Those who cannot by the communication of their ideas and of their experiences, do this, ought to listen carefully to the instruction of those who can and do contribute with truth and goodness of heart, particularly, the inhabitants of new settlements in order that they may obtain the necessary knowledge; and by this means, the perfection of their settlements.

The inhabitants of Illinois suffer from great difficulties on account of the disadvantages and the great discouragements which oppose their efforts in trying to improve their agriculture, their commerce and all the other necessary arts. But if each one of us, according to his state and power, wishes to strive to improve our situation, and our country, we could, in a few years, render this colony, the happiest of the continent.

For that purpose, let us unite heart and interest in order to encourage the agriculture and commerce of our native land throughout its extent; let us unite to oppose also, the introduction of all foreign things with which we could dispense with ease and without inconvenience or which we could manufacture ourselves. The following articles could immediately be removed from our list of imports, and in a few years, we should be in a condition to do without a number of others which we shall be able to procure for ourselves and which we are, at present, obliged to import from Europe, or from some American colony.

1. Sheet Lead for Bullets and Shot.
2. Salt.
3. French Brandy, rum and Strong Liquors of all Kinds.
4. Wine, and
5. Sugar.

For a long time, we have complained of the lack of money, and of our inability to pay the debts which we have contracted for the above mentioned articles and although we appear to be convinced that we could avoid importing them, nevertheless, we continue to do it, and therefore, are obliged to contract new debts; without making the least effort to rid ourselves of that dangerous disadvantage. It is true, that a number of good and virtuous inhabitants of Kaskaskia have already seen their mistake and have commenced to remedy it; in order to avoid the dangers, which menace their negligence, I myself do not doubt, that in a short time, we will unite in our efforts to encourage and to improve everything that can be cultivated or manufactured in our colony.

In order to contribute to this, and to render the inhabitants of Illinois as rich and happy as they are affectionate and humane, I purpose to convince those among us who have not already attentively considered this matter.

First—That we are in a position where we can cultivate or manufacture each of the above mentioned articles of as good a quality and perhaps better than those which we import.

Second—That, the sum saved or the profit which that would give to the few inhabitants who are at present in Illinois would amount in the beginning to two hundred and twenty-five thousand livres a year, which in the course of fifty years will amount to the sum of eleven million, two hundred and fifty thousand livres; such a sum would render us the richest and most flourishing colony of America and would place our posterity in a position, either to retire to Europe in a condition to establish themselves comfortably or better to settle down in this happy country to enjoy here the fruits of our industry in exploiting with care the resources which we actually have in our power.

Some of us are in truth advanced in age and it is often difficult to persuade ourselves to abandon a path marked out and frequented by our fathers and ourselves; others, for want of knowing better, are prejudiced in favor of methods in which they have been raised and, as savages who do not wish to be instructed, persist in their foolish ignorance, but as I flatter myself, that there are only a very few of that last number among us and that the others have a sincere desire to improve our situation and that of our posterity, let us work then I pray you conjointly to inspire in all the inhabitants without distinction, the necessary knowledge for that happy end; and I have not the least doubt of the most fortunate success, Because:

First—We have many lead mines which without much work would give us all more of this metal than would be necessary for the use of all the inhabitants, and for the commerce with the Indians; and in the course of a few years, we would be in a position to furnish it not only to all the ports of America but even to a great part of Europe if they require it. Thus, I hope that we will agree without difficulty that we were wrong in introducing into this colony sheet lead for bullets and shot, besides, some of this ore is mixed with silver and we have every reason to believe that within a few years, we will be able to procure workmen who will be capable of separating this precious metal to our great advantage. The same investigations which those mines would occasion us, would lead us to the knowledge of the iron and copper ones, metals of a value more real than the gold and silver of Peru.

Second—Our country abounds in salt springs, from which we could extract more than twice the quantity of salt necessary for our consumption at a much better price than we could buy it, and almost equal in quality; we could then do without salt from Europe and other places.

Third—From wines made from our raisins and from our cultivated grains, we could make brandy, equal as to quality and flavor to the best of cognac, and rum much superior to that which we import from New Orleans, and other places; and at less than half the price which we pay for those articles. Of this, we have a convincing proof in the manufactury lately established at Kaskaskia which if it were supported without jealousy or prejudice among the proprietors would have been of great benefit to us. It is in truth to be desired that we could do without all spirituous liquors, but as that is almost impossible and since the best and the most learned doctors are agreed that the liquor extracted from good grains, in the manner which is actually practiced in France, in Holland and in North America, is the most wholesome and the best of all, we ought certainly to follow that happy plan which we could do with so much ease, and distil our spirituous liquors ourselves; without buying them either from New Orleans, Philadelphia, or other places: Mr. Tissot, a celebrated French doctor, and author of many estimable and very valuable works, in his instructions for the preservation of health, says: "The liquors extracted from grains are nourishing and strengthening, and could be of great benefit, rich and stimulating as wine, much more nourishing, capable of serving for food and drink." Boerhaave, whose name is everywhere famous in medicine, says: "The liquor extracted from grains is the most stimulating and the most useful."

The industrious English have introduced among us, a drink for ordinary use, which was not known to us, except for the little which the Reverend Jesuit Fathers made for themselves; you perceive that I speak of beer, they sell it to us very cheaply, and offer to instruct our families how to make it of a much better quality, and at a very small expense; that is not the only necessary art which they have introduced among us; one of them has brought here at considerable expense, a large number of fruit trees, of almost all kinds, and besides hemp, flax, barley, sweet-potatoes, turnips, and many other things which we have never seen here before, which he has distributed to all those who wished to take the trouble to cultivate and propagate these things, so necessary and advantageous to this part of the world.

There is not the least doubt, that many of the individuals who carry on the commerce from here with New Orleans, and Philadelphia are angry at the English, our benefactors, and seek to injure their commerce, by decrying the worth and the quality of their wares, because their little commerce is in some way injured by the distillery and the brewery established here; but let us not listen at all to what those people say, whose interest it is to hold us in ignorance upon which they wish to establish their advantage. For certainly, no reasonable man can say that we should introduce brandy or rum from New Orleans, Philadelphia or other places, since we are able to make better ourselves, and in sufficient quantity for our consumption and for the commerce with the Indians without impoverishing our country by the exportation of the money necessary to purchase those articles, which have cost, up to the present, more than a hundred million livres per year.

Fourth—In regard to foreign wines of all kinds, we have no need of a single cask, if we wish to take the trouble to cultivate the different species of vines which grow naturally in this country and to introduce the shoots from France and from other places, which could be done at very little expense. Besides, since the cold and length of winter increases, the farther we ascend the Mississippi, and the farther we descend, the cold and the length of winter are more moderate, we could choose the most suitable climate for the culture of the different species of vines, without fear of lack of suitable and excellent ground for that purpose, for we all know, that there is no stretch of bad land on either side of the Mississippi, from the sea up to the Falls of St. Anthony, a distance more than 800 leagues along the great river. Numerous hills are not lacking, nor suitable plains for that cultivation, Divine providence has given us all those precious advantages which might be regarded as a recompense for the distance at which we are situated from the sea, and for our difficulty in communicating with other peoples.

Despite the difficulties which we undergo in the gathering of raisins, the lack of necessary vessels and the most suitable method, experience has shown us that in our various villages, we could make annually of wild vines, 150 casks of red wine of good quality and of good strength; and if we wish to be careful not to cut or destroy the vines as we do in picking the raisins, with a view to doing it quickly, we could in a few years, make a quantity very much larger and of a better quality. Reason does not dictate that, in this way, we should destroy or do great injury to a number of vines and hinder their growth, but if instead of breaking and destroying them in that manner, we wish to take the trouble to cut them with care, their yield would advantageously recompense us. Our hills, our valleys and our plains are filled with vines which are native, they grow in all soils and are adapted to all climates, without being cultivated they are loaded with fruits in abundance, many of them a rich and excellent flavor, by which nature unites with reason to show us.

That if we wish to take the trouble to plant small vineyards and give them the necessary care, within a few years, their produce would be of great advantage to us; and by means of some small compensation, we could find persons to instruct us in the management of the vintage, and the way to make the wine which would be much more profitable to us, which we could make better than that we import and as cheaply as one drinks it in Paris; we could even in the course of time, send it to the English and to their colonies.

Some Europeans may mock at that which I have here advanced, and will say that I have proposed an impossibility; if we ask them upon what they base those opinions, they will say that the Creoles [a name which they apply to us in derisión] are too ignorant and too indolent, to take such trouble, that we have no experience in such affairs, that labor is very expensive among us, and a number of similar reasons, which in my opinion, have not the least weight, force or foundation.

It is in fact but too true that up to the present, we have been held in great ignorance, but that does not prove that we should continue it.

We must also confess, that we have very much neglected the pursuit of knowledge necessary for our welfare and that of our future posterity, let us determine then to no longer abandon ourselves to that indolence, and as we have already demonstrated, in the various campaigns of the past war, that we are equal and in many cases superior to the Europeans, in the same way, let us vie with them, by our industry and by our efforts to procure for ourselves the wealth and knowledge necessary for our welfare and that of our posterity and instead of passing our time smoking tobacco in vanity and indolence with which they reproach us, let us determine at once to regulate our conduct in quite a different manner.

Fifth—Sugar is an article of which we have no need, this country here being filled with sugar-makers from whom many of the families are already drawing sufficient quantities for their consumption, and even to sell to others. A few of the people by moderate work during the course of a month, could make a quantity sufficient for the consumption of all the inhabitants of Illinois and besides, we have reason to believe that the tree from which in the Indies they make Arrack, is the same as our maple from which we obtain sugar, if it is so, the syrup which we get would be a spirit, much superior to all those that we have ever seen in this part of the world. In the western part of Virginia, they obtain all the sugar which they consume from the maple, although they are but a very short distance from the sea.

Besides the above mentioned articles, we should also give attention to the cultivation of hemp, of flax and of the cotton-herb. All those articles grow here very much better than in any of the New England colonies; from these products, our wives and our daughters could make all the linen necessary for the household, for our use and that of our domestics, stockings and other articles of our clothing; that would be a very considerable economy for us, I have not the least doubt that the women would be inclined with much satisfaction to the success of a project so advantageous.

Another article which seems well adapted to this country and to this climate is silk; from that manufacture if properly established, we could hereafter hope for immense wealth. The inhabitants of both Carolinas and of Pennsylvania have commenced it and found it already a considerable profit although those provinces are not in any way as suitable as this one here, the quantity of mulberry trees in which our country abounds, clearly proving it to us.

I ought not to omit to inform my country that the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia [which is only a small colony in the country which we call New England] yields annually to the king of England a revenue of three hundred thousand pounds sterling, equal to six million, six hundred thousand livres of our money; besides the principal sum which belongs to the cultivators and to the traders who buy it and are reimbursed with great profit by the French to whom they sell the goods; besides that advantage, this commerce employs at the least, four million sailors to transport that article to Europe in their vessels; if then the little isle and city of New Orleans should belong to Great Britain [which could not fail to happen in case of a new war with Spain] tobacco would be a very considerable and advantageous article for those who wish to cultivate it on the banks of the Mississippi, for the soil of Virginia is almost exhausted and could not continue long to produce that commodity as it has done before. Moreover, the lands on the Mississippi are by their quantity and quality, so much superior for the production of tobacco that if the English come to possess it, we could in a short time become the most flourishing colony of the world; and by prudent conduct and obedience to the laws of England, to the duties of our sacred Catholic religion and maintaining universal charity towards all men, we ought to be the most happy people of the human race. It is true that up to the present, we have received little advantage from having become English subjects, although we have formed the most advantageous ideas of the moderation, of the liberty and the wisdom of the laws of that brave nation; but we should attribute that disappointment to the distance at which we are situated from the sovereign and from the Parliament of Great Britain who, if they were fully informed of the importance and consequence of this colony to their empire, would have without doubt before this time granted a civil government, by means of which we would not have been subjected to the impositions and oppressions of our past tyrants. Nevertheless, we ought to acknowledge with gratitude that we are fortunate to have a commander[1] who detests all unjust action or arbitrary deeds and consequently we ought to convince him that we are the true and zealous subjects of his Britannic majesty and we doubt not at all that in a short time, the enjoyment of our religious rights will be confirmed to us and the administration of civil government will be established among us. We are able at present only to desire these happy results; and at the same time, I strive to prove the advantages which will result if we cease hereafter to import the following articles to-wit: Lead, salt, brandy, rum, wine and sugar, and use only those same articles, produced and made among us to-wit, 20,000 pounds of sheet lead for bullets and shot:

This I suppose will sell on the average at 15 sous	15,000
1,000 lb. box of salt at 15 livres	15,000
2,000 jugs of brandy at 7 livres 10 sous	15,000
20,000 jugs of English and French rum at 5 livres	100,000
150 casks of wine at 400 livres	60,000
10,000 lbs. of sugar at 40 sous	20,000
	225,000

It appears by this calculation which is very moderate, that we dispense 225,000 livres a year for those six articles which we could at a very small price, manufacture ourselves, that in the course of fifty years, those same articles will cost us the sum of 11,250,000 livres, which we could save and remit to England or to France, in accordance with our inclinations. If to that sum, we add that which we could save by the culture and manufacture of flax, hemp and cotton, we could not estimate that sum at less than 15,000,000 livres, that is to say, that at the end of fifty years we would be richer than we now are by 15,000,000 livres, provided we cease to import the said articles and commence to manufacture them ourselves, unless we persist in our present conduct. Let us all resolve then with courage and affection to shun evil and choose the good while we have it still in our power, and let us cease at last to be a reproach among our European brothers that they with just reason cease to sneer at our indolence and our folly.

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[1] Major Isaac Hamilton.

Before taking leave of you, permit me, my dear brothers, with the most sincere affection for you, lastly to remind you again of our posterity, that it is an absolute duty to procure for them the most beneficial and the most extended knowledge. That being the case, how can we permit ourselves to see them loitering in our streets more like vagabonds and savages than like Christians. We have already had a long experience in the compassion and the exemplary virtue of our venerable fathers Murrain and Gibeault, let us then employ a school-master in each of our villages and ask those respectable superiors to inspect their conduct. We are all ready and I flatter myself animated by good intentions, to have a school built in the midst of every village and to pay the masters to their satisfaction; the strangers who have come among us have observed that the value of tobacco which we smoke in idleness would suffice for that sum; but there is not a doubt that we could pay the sum in the produce of the country which would be equally as suitable for a school-master who has a family; I would wish then to propose that all the young people be taught to read and write correctly their mother tongue, and elementary arithmetic at least. It would be also in my opinion necessary that some and even all if it were possible should study the English language, which would be a very great advantage to them.

I wish with all my heart that the opinions above given should be accepted by my country-men with the same sincerity and the same affection as I give them and I flatter myself that after maturely considering them, they will lead to their advantage and to the foundation of their future happiness.—*An Inhabitant of Kaskaskia.*

VICTOR COLLOT, A JOURNEY IN NORTH AMERICA.

[The writer of the following account of Illinois first saw America during the time of the American Revolution, when he was on the staff of the French army under Marshal Rochambeau. At that time he desired to make a tour of the country, but the opportunity was not given him.

Collot sided with the party of the revolution in France, was rapidly advanced in the army, and was finally appointed governor of Guadeloupe, which he governed until its capture by the British, by whom he was sent to the United States. Scarcely had he arrived in the United States, when he was arrested at the suit of a merchant of that city on a charge connected with certain condemnation proceedings at Guadeloupe, and Gollot was forced to promise on his honor to remain in this country until the suit was decided.

According to his introduction, the French minister to the United States proposed that he make a tour of the West and write a report on the political, commercial, and military situation. At this time, 1796, France was particularly interested in the conditions of the great valley. This proposal suited his inclination and the results of his journey were afterwards published in French and in an English translation. Before the book was ready for the market Collot died, and the administration of his estate determined to increase the value of the book by destroying all copies except three hundred French and one hundred English. The consequence is that copies are exceedingly rare and expensive. There was printed at the same time a volume of maps and other plates, which are counted among the most valuable early maps of the west.

The passages here reprinted are taken from the English edition of 1826, beginning at page 175 and continuing through chapter XVII, with the omission of chapter XIV. The title of the reprinted passage was the choice of the editors.—Ed.]

A VISIT TO ILLINOIS IN 1796.

We proceeded seven miles and a half, and reached the mouth of Wabash River, opposite which is situated a great island, called Wabash Island, two miles and a half long, and which is high and well wooded.

Both passages are equally good, we choose that on the right, in order to inspect the mouths of this river. The depth of water in the right channel is from ten to fifteen feet.

The mouth of the Wabash is situated thirty-seven degrees forty-one minutes north. It is about seven hundred yards wide, and continues the same breadth as far as Post St. Vincent's; the distance from the mouth of the Wabash[1] to Post St. Vincent's is computed at sixty leagues, though in a straight line it is not forty. In the whole of this space there are only two rapids, one twelve leagues from St. Vincent's, and half a mile above White river, and the other fifteen leagues from the mouth of this last river, called the Great Chain, where may be seen, when the waters are very low, a long line of rocks, which at a certain distance resembles a mill-dyke. This chain of rocks has forced the waters to form a channel on the left side, where boats may pass at all times, excepting the winter and during the ice.

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[1] The following description was given me by a barge-master, who made this voyage twice every year.

From Post St. Vincent's to the High Land is forty leagues, and the navigation excellent. From the High Land to Vermilion River is reckoned twenty leagues, and the navigation continues good. From thence to Ouiah is twenty leagues, and the navigation improves.

From Ouiah to the river Tipiconow are six leagues[2] of excellent navigation, and from thence to Pisse Vache two leagues. At this place is a rapid, about ten fathoms in length, and which sometimes has not ten inches of water. This is the first point where the navigation becomes difficult.

Four leagues higher is another rapid from fifteen to twenty fathoms in length, with eight inches of water; the channel is always on the left side in ascending. Six leagues beyond this last rapid is Little Rock River. There is a rapid at this spot, extremely violent, but with sufficient water. About this place the river is sometimes shallow and sometimes deep, according to the depot of sand which the waters have left or washed away.

From thence to Eel river are two leagues of good navigation, and a league higher is the Great Rapid; its length is twenty fathom, with six, seven and eight inches of water at most; and above is a shallow, half a league long, with six inches of water.

Four leagues beyond the great rapid is the river of the Great Calumet. Here is another rapid, ten fathoms in length, with a sufficient depth of water.

From the river of the Great Calumet to a small island, without a name, is one league; this island must be left on the right in ascending, and above is a shallow with six inches of water.

From this small island to the rapid St. Cyr is three leagues: this rapid is half a league in length, and with sufficient water.

From this rapid to the river Mussissinoe is two leagues. Here is another rapid, twelve fathoms long, with twelve inches of water.

From hence to l'Hôpital is seven leagues, during which there is very little water; the barks are obliged to unload during the space of a league. At this spot is a rock of enormous size, situated on the northern side.

From l'Hôpital to the river Salaminique is three leagues. Here is a small island, the passage is on the southern side, and there is a rapid of three fathoms length, with sufficient water.

From thence to Bended Maple one league. From Bended Maple to the Little River four leagues.

Leaving here the Wabash, we followed the course of the Little River. From its mouth to the village of the Miamis, situated at its source, is twelve leagues; in this place is a portage of three leagues, and a half to reach the sources of the river Miamis from thence to Wolf Rapid is fifty-one leagues, during which there are a great number of small rapids, but with sufficient water to leave the navigation free. From Wolf Rapid the boats unload only in dry seasons. To Roche-de-bout is three leagues; here is another rapid three leagues long, but every where sufficient depth of water.

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[2] In the course of this description, and in conformity to the terms of distance used in the country, we substitute the word league for that of mile.

From Roche-de-bout to Lake Erie is six leagues. From thence to the river Detroit twelve leagues, and to Detroit Fort six leagues.

In the season of the high waters, as in the months of March, April and May, there is sufficient water at the portage of the Miamis. It is in this place that the waters divide, and run on one side into Lake Erie, and on the other into the Wabash. It is to be noted that all the depths of the rapids and shallows have been calculated when the waters were at the lowest during the year, none of the rapids being seen or felt when the waters are high.

From the mouth of the Wabash great barges are used, which carry from twenty to thirty thousand weight, as far as St. Vincent's; but from this post barks are employed in carrying four, five and six thousand weight.

St. Vincent's is a small mean village, containing one hundred families, the greater part French, ruined by General Clark during the last war, as were also the Illinois. A bad wooden fort, in the usual mode of construction, is built here.

The course of the Wabash is in general slow; it traverses a fine country sufficiently elevated, and less liable to inundations than any other parts of this continent. Vast natural meadows form a part of this country. The Wabash rolls over a bed of sand and gravel, in which precious stones are often found; the emerald and topaz have been observed to be of the number. The banks are clothed with fine woods of the same kind as those of the Beautiful River or the Ohio, and the black and white mulberry grow in the greatest profusion on this spot. Salt springs and coal mines have also been discovered.

The inhabitants of Post St. Vincent's cultivate in general wheat, maize, and tobacco equal to that of Virginia; but hunting and trading with the Indians are their principal occupations. The exportation of fine furs and skins of roebucks amounts annually, on an average, to one hundred and twenty thousand livres.

Hemp grows naturally, and the vine is also in great abundance, and of a very peculiar kind; the grape is black, small, and the skin extremely delicate. The inhabitants make a kind of wine which is agreeable to the taste, but cannot long be preserved.

One hundred and ten miles above Post St. Vincent's is a small French establishment, called Ouia, or Ouiatanon, containing ten or twelve families, of which the occupations are also hunting, trading, and a little farming; but as this settlement lies further back than that of Post St. Vincent's trading is the most lucrative employment of the inhabitants. The exportation from Quiatanon in furs and roebuck skins was estimated upon an average at one hundred and ninety-two thousand francs a year; but this branch of commerce diminishes sensibly because as the adjacent country becomes populous, the game retreats further back into the country.

At the passage of the Miamis carriages are regularly found to convey the baggage and goods of travelers.

The head of the Wabash, at the place where the waters divide, forms, militarily speaking, a fine position. This point is the key of the whole country watered by the Wabash, and the first which ought to be forfeited if the northwestern states ever make a schism.

Chapter XIII.

Continuation of the Ohio.—Saline Creek.—Trade Creek.—Big Cave.—Bear Hunting.—Great Island.—Mistake in the Charts.—Omissions.—Other Mistakes in the Maps.—The Three Great Islands.—Cumberland River.—Tennessee River.—Observation.—Fort Massac.—Military Observation.—Arrest.—Massac Creek.—Cash Island.—Cash Creek.—Mouths of the Ohio.

The aspect of the country from Red Bank to this point is nearly the same. Both sides of the Ohio are in general low and swampy, a few trifling elevations near Highland Creek excepted.

One mile below the end of Wabash Island we found three small islands on the right; the two first almost joined to each other, the third more distinct. These islands are as yet covered only with young willows, the tops of which are visible in high waters. We kept on the right to avoid the shallows. These three islands extend four miles, reckoning from Wabash Island.

Four miles below the last of these small islands, we left a fourth on the left, nearly of the same kind as the preceding; that is, very low and covered with young willows.

The depth of water from Wabash is from fifteen to eighteen and twenty feet. The lands continue low and swampy; the country is a desert.

Nine miles below this last island, Saline Creek empties itself into the Ohio. At a mile above this creek, we left on our right a great sand-bank, half dry; taking care to steer very near the left, as this bank occupies a considerable portion of the bed of the river. The soundings are from six to eight feet.

This creek might very properly be called Highland, for at this point ends that long and almost uninterrupted extent of low lands which begins at Louisville.

After passing Saline Creek, chains of heights rise on both sides of the river; that on the right is very elevated, covered with great rocks, and often steep.

Eight miles and a half farther we reached Trade creek, leaving on our right a small dry sand-bank, which joins the land.

We proceeded six miles and a half, passing on our left two great defiles and a small island, and reached Big Cave, situated on the right.

From Saline Creek to Big Cave the navigation is easy; the soundings were from five to ten and twelve feet. This cavern, twenty-two or twenty-three feet deep, and forty feet in height, is filled in high waters; it is an excavation made in the rocks by the continual beatings of the flood. We found a few crystallisations, but no saltpetre, nor any petrifactions whatever.

The lands on the left side, opposite Big Cave, are low and swampy; the right side continues bordered with rocky heights. On this spot we killed a bear, which was crossing the Ohio. This mode of hunting is pleasant for those who search for amusement rather than profit, since at this season the prize is of no value. The bear, like most other animals, is fond of bathing during the great heats, as well to cool himself as to get rid of the vermin which infest him. They are often seen, even in broad day, swimming across the largest rivers, and it is while they are on their passage that the hunters attack them. We had observed the bear we killed, bathing with several others on the right side, when she suddenly determined to cross the river, the breadth of which in this place is not less than twenty-four hundred yards. As soon as we observed that he had made a third of the way, four of us threw ourselves into the little canoe, a hunter, myself, and two Canadians whom I selected as the most expert in guiding the boat, and also in preventing the bear during the attack from overturning it, which is often the case. We rowed towards him, and endeavored to cut him off from the side of the land whence he had set out. When he saw himself so pressed that he could not go back, instead of crossing the river he followed the stream, and swam with such extraordinary swiftness, that it was half an hour, with all the exertion of our oars, before we came within musket shot. Perceiving that we had gained on him to this point, he turned briskly round, and while he was making this movement, which obliged him to expose his whole side, the hunter and myself fired our carabines, the hunter's bullet passed through his neck, and mine through the withers; but as neither of these wounds were mortal, they served only to irritate him, and he rushed forwards, with redoubled fury, to overturn our canoe, which we avoided by the great dexterity of the boatmen, who kept continually above the current. This combat lasted nearly half an hour, in which space we fired six times without being able to kill him. At every discharge the bear turned upon us, and in spite of the skill of our Canadians, he succeeded at length in passing under our canoe; but as he had already lost much blood, and was consequently exhausted, he had not strength to overturn it. As soon as he raised his head, the pilot struck him with an axe, which stunned and drowned him.

One of the most extraordinary incidents in this struggle was the courage of a pretty little terrier, which at the beginning of the attack threw himself into the water, and fixed himself on the back of the animal; till the bear, enraged at his worrying and barking, plunged down, and raising himself instantly again, tore him open.

The roebuck, also, during the summer traverses the widest rivers. We often attempted to chase him in the same manner, but his speed is such that no rower whatever can overtake him. We made the trial repeatedly both in going up and down, but always ineffectually; which induces us to think, that of all quadrupeds this is the swiftest.

Leaving Big Cave, and proceeding two miles, we found a large island with two sand-banks, which were dry. Opposite the middle of the island we saw a third jutting out from the right, then a fourth on the same side, and opposite the end of the island. The passage is very difficult. We left the island and the first two sand-banks on our left, and the two others on our right.

It is chiefly between the second and third of these banks that the greatest skill of the mariner is requisite; the channel, in this place, makes several windings, and is not more than three or four feet in its greatest depth.

After passing the island, the heights close upon the banks on the right side; they are no longer rocky, but consist of rich lands covered with very fine wood.

Five miles from the last island, not comprising its length, which is three miles and a half, we found on the left a large creek, delineated too much to the west in the American charts. It is navigable ten miles at all seasons for canoes.

Opposite to this creek is a great sand-bank on the right side, and which is half dry; we avoided it by steering to the left. Care must be taken also not to approach too near to this side, to avoid an eddy which is found immediately after the creek, and which occupies a space of four hundred yards.

A mile and a half lower, on the same side, is a second creek, not described in any chart.

A mile and a half below this last creek we perceived an island, which is separated from the main land only by a small channel. We left this island on our right, and three miles lower, including the length of the island, we reached another, marked five miles too much to the westward on all the American charts; we took the channel on the right, that on the left being full of sand-banks, and choked by driftwood. In the channel we had taken we found ten, fifteen and eighteen feet of water, the navigation from the great island to this place is good.

The aspect of this country continues the same, both sides are lined with heights.

At a short distance from this island, we left a defile on the right, and three miles lower, reckoning from the head of this island, we found three others, which follow each other at nearly equal distances. The two first are connected by a great sand-bank, and take up a space of nearly four miles. We passed these three islands on our left, as well as a great sand-bank, which is at the end of the third, and which is a mile in length under water. Opposite to this sand-bank, and to the last of these islands, we perceived on the right two creeks, neither of which are navigable. The channel on the left is altogether impracticable: that on the right has from fifteen to twenty feet of water.

Two miles below the sand-bank we found an island, situated in the midst of the river, very high, which we passed on our left; and three miles lower than the head of this island, we found a second of the same elevation; we left it on our right, the channel on the left being the only practicable. Three miles further down than this last island we found a third, situated exactly opposite Cumberland river; we passed it on the left, the channel between the island and the mouth of Cumberland river being often filled with driftwood, brought down by that river, which renders the passage on that side sometimes difficult.

From the three small islands above mentioned to Cumberland river, which is nearly fifteen miles, the navigation with little attention is everywhere good. The soundings gave fifteen, eighteen, twenty and twenty-five feet of water.

After passing the last of these three small islands, the country changes its aspect, the heights on the right side disappear altogether, and we perceived nothing but a vast extent of low and swampy ground.

Cumberland River is from six hundred to seven hundred yards wide at its mouth, it is navigable for boats of all sizes one hundred and eighty miles, and its banks are already inhabited. The mouth of this river is surrounded by small eminences very advantageously situated for protecting the entrance.

Ten miles below Cumberland River, we reached Tennessee River, the entrance of which is marked by two islands, situated so close to each other, that without great attention we should have passed without perceiving that they were separated.

On the left side, between Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, we observed a small wooden fort, the object of which was the protection of the navigation of those two rivers, and also of the Ohio, during the war with the Indians; but the fort is placed at too great a distance to answer this triple view, and is really useful only for the Ohio. From Cumberland River to Tennessee the navigation is excellent, the height of the water is from twelve to sixteen and eighteen feet. The lands are low and swampy on both sides. Tennessee River is nearly of the same breadth as Cumberland River, and is navigable for all kinds of boats as high as Muscle Shoals.

After passing Tennessee River, the bed of the Ohio widens considerably, and at the end of eleven miles, leaving several defiles on both sides, with the navigation uninterrupted, we reached Fort Massac. The depth of water in this distance is sixteen, eighteen and twenty feet. The lands on both sides are low and swampy.

Fort Massac, so called by the Americans, and Fort Massacre by the Canadians,[1] is a post anciently established by the French, and abandoned at the time of the cession of Louisiana; it has lately been repaired, and has been occupied two years past by the Americans.

This fort is erected on a small promontory, it is built with wood, and has four bastions surrounded with palisadoes, of the same form and construction as all those mentioned in the course of this work. The garrison is composed of an hundred men, commanded by a captain; the batteries are mounted with eight pieces of twelve. The fault of this position, with respect to the navigation of the Ohio, is, that the channel being on the opposite side, the passage may be effected, especially during the night, without any fear of the batteries.

It is, nevertheless, very important to keep this point, because it communicates by two different roads with the country of the Illinois. One of these, called the lower road, and which is the shortest, is practicable only in very dry seasons, and when the waters are very low, because there are several creeks to pass, which are not fordable in high waters; in this case, the other, called the upper road, must be taken, which is much longer, and which leads along the heights, crossing the creeks or rivers at their sources. This road is passable for carriages, whilst the lower road is practicable only for horse or foot passengers. The distance from hence to Kaskaskias by the lower road is reckoned eighty miles, that by the upper road one hundred and fifty.

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[1] The Canadians informed us that the Indians having one day surprised and massacred all the French who were within the fort, it was on that acount called Fort Massac.

The platform, on which the fort is erected, is about seventy feet above the level of low water, and has consequently nothing to fear from inundations. But the bank being perpendicular, and the fort placed very near the precipice, which is daily giving way, two of the bastions that face the river are in danger of being borne off by the first floods; the ditch and palisadoes having already shared that fate.

Near the fort are seven or eight houses or huts inhabited by Canadians, whose sole occupations are hunting, or dragging boats; they appeared poor and miserable.

The commander of this fort was Captain Pike, who treated us with great hospitality during the two days which we spent with him; but at the moment of our departure, whether from reflection, or whether he had received orders to that effect, as he told me verbally, he thought it prudent to arrest us. At five in the morning, Capt. Pike, attended by four fusileers and the whole of his staff, including the surgeon, planted himself in my boat, declaring to me with an air of dignity, that he thought himself obliged in conscience to arrest us, having been informed that I was indefatigable in taking the survey of the Ohio, and of all the Western States. I immediately showed him the whole of my manuscripts, observing that they contained nothing but geographical notes and a few local remarks, which were more fitted to benefit than injure his fellow-citizens. He advised with his council, but neither any of its members or himself could read French, and there was a moment of suspense with respect to his decision; when an idea, which alarmed me extremely, presented itself to him; that of sending my papers to Philadelphia, and taking the orders of government. The distance from Fort Massac to Philadelphia is at least a thousand miles. Fortunately, the surgeon, who was a man of sense, observed, that eight months must elapse before we could obtain an answer, and that it would be cruel to detain me and my suite during the whole of the winter, if, as he belived, I had nothing contrary to the laws of the country; since every one had a right to travel in the United States, and even without a passport. Captain Pike was struck with the wisdom of this observation, and it was unanimously resolved that I might continue my journey, taking, however, on board an officer to attend me as long as I should remain in the territory of the United States; this commission was entrusted to Captain Taylor. Of Captain Pike's conduct we had upon the whole no great reason to complain; he appeared to be a good man; and this little adventure proceeded rather from the jealous suggestions of some persons who surrounded him, than any hostile intention of his own.

Two miles below Fort Massac, on the left, we found a creek, called Massac's Creek, which is not navigable.

Immediately below Fort Massac the Ohio widens still more, and its course becomes slower, flowing along a low country. On the right we perceived a kind of natural dyke, which runs parallel with the banks of the river, but the lands behind are in general low and swampy.

We proceeded without finding any variation in the soil twenty-three miles. In this space the Ohio, which had run for some time towards the west, takes a sudden bend towards the south. We reached Cash Island, after having passed two creeks on our right and left, neither of which are navigable. The navigation during these twenty-three miles is perfectly good, and the depth of water from fifteen to twenty-five feet.

Passing Cash Island on our left, we took the channel on the right; carefully steering, however, as close as possible to the island, to avoid a sandbank jutting out from the right.

Three miles below Cash Island, we left on the right Cash Creek, and six miles below this creek we reached the mouth of the Ohio. The country continues low and swampy, the navigation regularly good, and the depth of the river scarcely ever varies from twenty to twenty-five feet.

The Ohio at its mouth offers nothing remarkable, its breadth is nearly the same as that of the Mississippi, and its banks are low and marshy, as well as the country on each side.

Opposite to its mouth the Ohio has deposited a great quantity of sand, which, forming a very considerable bank, bars a part of the Mississippi, and renders this passage extremely difficult; this we shall explain in the chapter that treats of the navigation of this river.

In general the distances marked in Hutchins' charts, and others, are too great, particularly from the rapids to the mouth of the Ohio.

CHAPTER XV.

Military Description of Part of the Mississippi, from the Mouth of the Ohio to the Illinois Country.—Important Remark.—Buffalo Island.—Temperature.—Elk Island.—Pointe a la Perche.—Charpon Islands.—Courcy Islands.—Unlucky Accident.—English Islands.—Vines.—Chains of Rocks.—Rapidity of the Current.—Cape a la Cruche.—Quicksands.—Pelicans.—Cape Girardot.—Observations Respecting the Beavers.—Du Verrier Islands.—False Bays.—Marl River.—Apple River.—Muddy River.—The Tower.—Wandering Indians.—Necessary Precautions.—Winged Islands.—Five Men Cape.—Dung Islands.—St. Mary's River.—Recapitulation of the Distances.—Reasons why a good map of the course of the river can never be obtained.

Before we speak of the Mississippi, that great artery of North America, it is necessary to make an observation.

Obliged, on leaving the Ohio and entering the Mississippi to ascend a part of this last river, in order to gain the Missouri; and anxious to give a successive view of objects such as we beheld them, our account of the Mississippi will necessarily be interrupted; that is to say, we shall first treat of the Mississippi from the Ohio to the Missouri, and shall not resume our account of that river as far as New Orleans, till we have finished our expedition into the country of the Illinois and the Missouri.

We began our course on the Mississippi the second of August. This day was one of the hottest we had felt in North America; Farenheit's thermometer had risen to ninety-seven. An hatchet exposed to the sun during an hour had acquired such a degree of heat, that we would not hold it in our hands. The wind was south, and the weather thick and hazy.

Immediately on entering the Mississippi, and after doubling the northern point which separates the waters of this river from those of the Ohio, we passed on the left a great sand-bank, called in the language oi the country batture, formed by this last river. The sand-bank is long, flat, and covered with young poplars. At this point both sides of the river are low and swampy, and we saw nothing on the horizon which indicated that there were any lands more elevated within a certain distance. For this reason, the right side of the river, opposite to the mouth of the Ohio, will never be proper for the construction of any works, unless at an expense which would be useless in a country that is yet a desert.

Three miles from the mouth of the Ohio, in ascending the river, is an island on the left, called Buffalo Island, which is about a mile in length, well wooded, and high, with a blackish soil. We observed on both sides of the river, ranks of willows, all of the same height, resembling the finest Lombardy poplars, and arranged with so much symmetry that each tree seemed placed at equal distances, which viewed from the water produced a most beautiful effect.

After doubling Buffalo Point, we reached, at the distance of half a mile, Elk Island, which is newly formed. The willows we saw on this spot were not more than from two to three years growth. Both passages are equally good; nevertheless, when the waters are low, and in going up the river, the right side is to be preferred, leaving the island on the left.

We rowed by Elk Island, a mile, and a mile and a half higher we reached on the right Point a la Perche, so called on account of the great quantity of willows with which it is bordered; these willows are still loftier than those we have just mentioned, some of them being sixty feet in height.

Between Elk Island and Pointe a la Perche the current is more gentle than from this island to the mouth of the Ohio, where it is so strong that we proceeded scarcely more than a mile in two hours; and this with such difficulty, that the best Canadian rower could not handle his oar more than a quarter of an hour without resting.

Half a mile higher than Pointe a la Perche, we reached on the right Charpon Islands; these are three in number, and they follow each other in succession, each is about a mile long, including the canals by which they are separated. The lands continue low and swampy to a very great distance on both sides, but they are of a fine quality, having from twelve to eighteen feet of vegetable earth.

Three miles above these islands we reached Courcy Islands; these are four in number, and occupy a space of two miles. The towing line is used for these three miles.[1]

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[1] The towing line is made use of when the waters are low and the sand-banks dry; in high waters, or when the banks are steep, this mode is impracticable.

Before we reached Courcy Islands, we passed between two great banks, in order to gain the right side, leaving the islands on the right. This is the only side practicable for the towing line, the other being perpendicular and encumbered with trees, which renders this passage extremely difficult. With a line of fifty fathoms, though the waters are low, we found no bottom.

Immediately after passing the last of Courcy Islands, we steered to the left, in order to avoid a very dangerous sand-bank; there is a passage on the right, but the current is so strong, that it is practicable only in descending the river.

In crossing over, we met with a disagreeable accident; our boatmen, exhausted in striving to master the current stopped on a sudden, when the boat drove with such violence and with so much force on a stump, which broke in its ribs, that we had only time to throw ourselves on the nearest of one of the islands, where we passed the rest of the day to repair the damage.

We learned with certainty, on leaving the Ohio, that from thence to the Missouri, we could never proceed faster than three leagues in a day, and sometimes only two. Although our boat had twenty oars, the rapidity of the current, the immense quantity of trees heaped together on both sides the river, and which sometimes filled half its bed; the transversal position of these trees, which changes the current of the river and increases its rapidity, render this navigation very difficult and dangerous; we were continually in the alternative of breaking on the trees, or striking on the sand-banks.

We estimated the current of the river in this place at six or seven miles an hour, and often nine in channels formed by the islands. The country continues to be low and swampy.

We proceeded nine miles and reached the English Islands, called by the Canadians Great Courcy Islands, and by the Indians Taiouwapeti. These islands occupy a space of six miles, and are twelve in number, ranged in groups of different sizes, and each affording a passage; it is, however, safest to leave them all on the right; not only because the current is less strong, but that nearly six miles are gained by taking the channel on the left. The navigation from Little Courcy Islands hither is good, the banks which are formed between them, and which are dry, make it very easy for towing.

We saw a great quantity of game of every kind on these islands, roebucks, bears and buffaloes; we killed one of the latter. From the mouth of the Ohio to this spot we found neither creek nor river, nor saw any source whatever.

After passing the English Islands, we perceived that the lands began to rise, and cease to be swampy; the soil, nevertheless, is poor, being either rocky or gravelly, mixed with reddish earth. At a distance we perceived a chain of heights, called Taiouwapeti Mountain, which runs north and south, parallel to the river.

The whole of this quarter is covered with vines of the large kind, which differs, however, from that which we found in the north, the wood not being so thick; the fruit is less, of a deeper red and sweeter; these vines climb to the tops of the loftiest trees.

At half a mile distance from the last of the English Islands, we found on the left side a chain of rocks, called the Little Chain. We kept to the right, and two miles higher we found a second, called the Great Chain, which extends into the middle of the river, and is a mile in length. The rocks that form this last chain being detached from each other, leave a number of small passages, which, although perilous, may be passed with less danger, aided by a good pilot, than the channel altogether on the right, where there is a current so strong, that it cannot be stemmed without much loss of time and considerable efforts, while amidst the rocks the water is almost stagnant.

After passing the Great Chain of rocks, keeping constantly to the left, the navigation continues gentle and easy. We sometimes proceeded a mile and a half an hour.

Here the ground on both sides rises in gentle slopes, and is no longer swampy; it is a mixture of rocks, gravel, and good soil. We beheld at intervals small rivulets, which take their sources in the heights of Taiouwapeti. The quality of their waters is very inferior to that of the river.

The banks of the river are extremely dangerous in this place, from the quicksands which often shift, and on which no one can step without the risk of being swallowed up; our hunter had nearly perished in this manner, and was saved only by placing his fowling piece in a cross direction, when we instantly threw out cords and hawled him on board the vessel. These quicksands may easily be known by their lustre, which have the polish of glass, and by their humidity which resists the hottest beams of the sun.

We proceeded six miles, and reached, on the left side, Cape a la Cruche; it is a very elevated and perpendicular point, in front of which, and level with the water, is a nest of rocks which extends to some distance, and which is very dangerous. These rocks may easily be distinguished by the breakers.

The navigation during these six miles is good, if care be taken to keep on the left side.

Having reached Cape a la Cruche, we crossed a part of the river to gain an island on the opposite side, which it bordered by a great sandbank, very conveniently situated for towing. We thus avoided a very strong current on the left, and which begins after doubling Cape a la Cruche.

Three miles above Cape a la Cruche, we passed on the left the small island of La Ferriere.

Towards four o'clock in the afternoon, we perceived in the horizon a kind of white riband of great length, which was a flock of pelicans, called by the Canadians great throats, coming from the north in their passage to the southward. They begin to arrive in this latitude, in the month of June, as the cold approaches. In the month of December, therefore an innumerable quantity are seen at New Orleans, where they generally pass the winter, and hatch their young. These birds travel always in flocks, when they reach any great river, they range themselves all in one line, their heads turned against the stream, and thus suffer themselves to be carried down; they swallow all the fish that come in their way, and deposit them in the great bag. When the river is too narrow to contain a whole flock, they place themselves in a line of two deep; they prefer the Mississippi and the Missouri to every other river, on account of their Muddy waters.

At the distance of a mile and a half above the island of La Ferriere, we reached Cape Girardot. We kept to the left side, to take advantage of a very strong eddy that reaches from this last island to Cape Girardot, which is the first military point on the river, from the mouth of the Ohio,[1] both sides being either swampy or broken by rocks.

Cape Girardot, on the contrary, is a block of granite, covered with a vegetable earth, about a foot in depth; it commands the whole river, which by means of a point, or very considerable alluvion, on the opposite side, is narrowed to the breadth of a mile at most. In order to avoid the shallows with which this alluvion is surrounded, all vessels that pass are obliged to keep very near the right side,, which is within half cannon shot of the Cape.

The upper part of the block or eminence A, is commanded by no height; that part which fronts the river is steep and inaccessible; a large and deep defile surrounds it to the north and east, on the south is a gentle declivity, which finishes in low and sometimes marshy lands. The foot of the cliff affords shelter and excellent mooring for vessels.

Cape Girardot is, therefore, so situated as to supply what is wanting on the right bank of the Mississippi, at the point which corresponds to the mouth of the Ohio. Placed at forty-three miles and a half only above its mouth, this point commands whatever issues from that river, and covers perfectly on this side the place of St. Louis, from which it could receive succour in twenty-four hours. This leads us to think that the true station of the gallies is at this spot, where there is a fort respectable enough to protect them.

The importance of this post did not escape M. Laurimier, a Frenchman in the Spanish service, whose military talents and great influence with the Indian nations are very useful to this power. He has established himself there with the Chawanons and the Loups, whom he commands, and has a very fine farm, on which he resides.

The river in great floods rises here as high as seventy feet.

In one of the villages of the Loups which I visited whilst I remained at Cape Girardot, I found a white who had formed an establishment. This planter in clearing had destroyed a settlement of beavers; on examining, with the proprietor, the devastation which had been made in the dwellings and dikes of these industrious animals, we were struck with the appearance of one among those we had killed, the skin of which was totally without hair, and his body covered with scars. I conjectured at first that this was the effect of some malady natural to this species of animal; but my host, to whom I made the remark, informed me that he was the slave of the family, and that a similar one was found in almost every habitation of the beavers.

"In each family," said he, "there is one, which on his entrance into the world is destined to be the slave. The most servile and laborious occupations are his lot, among which is that of his serving as a traineau for the conveyance of wood. When the beavers have resolved on cutting wood, and it remains only to be carried off, the slave takes the stick between his fore feet; the free beavers, seizing him by the tail, drag him in this manner, nor is he permitted to quit his hold till he reaches home."

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[1] It will be seen at the end of this survey, that this is also the first point on the west side of the river from New Orleans, which renders it so much the more important.

If this be a fact, and I relate it with the same simplicity that it was recounted to me, it is not astonishing that the body of this animal should be scarified and deprived of its hair, by the continued friction he must have undergone, when dragged through briars, over stones and rocks. This at least is certain, that the beaver I saw was without hair, and covered with scars both old and newly made.

At the distance of half a mile from Cape Girardot, and on the left side, is a creek which is almost dry during the summer; and half a mile higher is the island Du Verrier, which he left on the right. The navigation during this mile is easy, but the island being very large, and narrowing the bed of the river, there is a very strong current in both channels. We quitted the left side, and crossed to gain the island, which is surrounded with banks, that facilitate the use of the towing line.[1] The left side of the river, independently of its extreme rapidity, is also filled with a considerable quantity of drift-wood, which chokes up half the channel; but these kinds of obstacles are but momentary; the next year they may totally disappear, and may probably embarrass some other point of the river.

After rowing by the island Du Verrier, which is two miles long, and proceeding three miles further, we reached False Bays, situated on the right side; we crossed again a part of the river, to gain a great sand-bank which is dry, and where the current is less strong. We left on the right, a mile from False Bays, an island without a name, which has been only formed within these two years. Two miles and a half above this island, we passed another on the right, of which the name is also unknown.

The current during these last two miles and a half is moderate, and the navigation easy; we kept to the right side, which is bordered with flat rocks, and convenient for mooring boats. A mile above this last island, perpendicular rocks rise on the right bank to the height of two hundred feet; the left side, on the contrary, is swampy.

We rowed the length of a mile along this iron rampart, and reached on the same side Marl river, (Riviere de Glaise), which is full of a clay of this nature. The river is about forty or fifty yards wide at its mouth, runs through low and swampy lands, and is almost dry during the summer.

Four miles above, and on the same side, Apple river (Riviere aux Pommes) empties itself. This river is from eighty to ninety yards in breadth at its mouth, and though its waters are low in dry seasons, there is nevertheless enough for the navigation of canoes.

Directly opposite to Apple River, Mud River (Riviere aux Vases[1] flows into the Mississippi. Its mouth is concealed by a very considerable island, which forms two passages; the first, in ascending the river, is the best. This river is navigable sixty miles for canoes, during the whole year; the country through which it flows is extremely fertile, but swampy to a great distance.

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[1] These crossings are made with extreme difficulty, and however able the rowers, one and two miles are often lost in the passage; they ought, therefore, to be avoided as much as possible.

Four miles above Mud river, and on the right side of the Mississippi, is the Tower; a name given to a great mass of rocks, at nearly fifty yards distance from the right bank. Its round form, isolated siuation, and lofty height, led the first navigators to give it this appelation. This rock offers nothing curious,[1] excepting the immense quantities of birds of every kind to which it affords an asylum. Six weeks previous to our arrival here, an American family, composed of twelve persons, were all massacred. They had taken their station, at the close of the evening, opposite to the tower, on the left side of the river. Soon after their landing, two Chickasaws came to visit them with a friendly air, asking them for provisions and rum, which were given to them, and they appeared to go away highly satisfied. But at daybreak a troop of twenty Indians fell upon this unfortunate family, and massacred men, women and children, without mercy. These murders are very common, and are committed almost always by Indians proscribed and driven from their tribes of robbery or some bad action; the vagabonds then wander through the woods, and rob and kill all they meet. These depredations are in general committed by the Chickasaws; sometimes, however, massacres take place by way of reprisal. If an Indian be killed by a White, as soon as the news reaches the tribe, the whole nation swears vengeance, and that the same quantity of blood which has been taken shall be shed; after which, the first White that presents himself, whether a stranger or not, becomes their victim. When such attacks are to be apprehended, it is prudent to encamp in one of the small islands, after having well examined it; or what is still better to anchor always at a little distance from the shore To this precaution which we cannot too strongly recommend to those who travel in these deserts we owe the preservation of our own lives

Leaving the Tower, we proceeded three miles and a half, and reached Winged Island (Isle aux Ailes), which we left on the right. In this space there are several eddies on the left side, which favor the ascent of the river; the current is very strong on the right.

Four miles and a half above Winged Island is Five Men Cape (Cap des cinq Hommes), situated on the left side, it is known by the long line of rocks which precedes it, and which though joined to the bank, extends far into the river. These rocks form very violent currents, but beyond them the navigation becomes smooth and easy.

Three miles above Five Men Cape are Dung Islands (Isles a la Merde);[2] these are four in number, and extend nearly three miles. We passed them on the left, and half a mile higher we reached the river St. Mary, situated on the same side. Opposite its mouth is a little island, called Perch Island (Isle a la Perche), which we left on our right.

A mile and a half above Perch Island, we reached the Island of Kaskaskias.

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[1] If this rock were not commanded by the right bank, it would form a very important military point.

[2] The disgusting appellations seem to characterize the state of the people.

From Five Men Cape the navigation is good, and even easy, but care must be taken when at Perch Island, to cross the river and gain the right side, where the current is much more gentle than on the left.

A mile above the island of Kaskaskias, we reached the mouth of the river which bears this name.

The appearance of the country from Cape Girardot to this place, varies but little, every where we find small rocky heights, intersected by valleys, which are often over-flowed. Excepting Cape Girardot, the whole of this country, from the Ohio to Kaskaskias, is uninhabited.

The river Kaskaskias is nearly one hundred and twenty yards broad at its mouth, and affords in every season a gentle and safe navigation for all kinds of boats. The village of Kaskaskias, situated ten miles from the mouth of the river, is the first settlement in the country of the Illinois.

From Kaskaskias to Salt River is reckoned ten miles; from thence to St. Genevieve, four; from St. Genevieve to Fort Chartres, twenty; to Joachim River, eighteen; to Marimeck River, fifteen; to the village of Carondelet, fifteen; to St. Louis, ten; and to the Missouri, four.[1]

The whole navigation from the river Kaskaskias is excellent, and traverses a country very well inhabited, called the Illinois.

RECAPITULATION OF THE DISTANCES.

From the mouth of the Ohio to that of the Missouri.

From the mouth of the Ohio to	Miles.
Buffalo Island	3
Its length	1
Elk Island	½
Its length	1
Point a la Perche	1½
Charpon Islands	½
Their length	3
Courcy Islands	3
Their length	2
English Islands	9
Their length	6
Little Chain of Rocks	½
Great Chain	2
Cape a la Cruche	6
Island a la Ferriere	3
Cape Girardot	1½
Island du Vertier	1
Its length	2
False Bays	3
Marl River	5½
Apple River	4
The Tower	4
Winged Island	3½
Five Men Cape	4½
Dung Islands	3
Their length	3
River St. Mary	1
Kaskaskia Island	1½
Salt River	10
St. Genevieve	4

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[1] See the description of the country of the Illinois, Vol. I.

Fort Chartres	20
Joachim River	18
Marimeck River	15
Carondelet Village	15
St. Lewis	10
The mouth of the Missouri	5
	176½

The most valuable information which we acquired during this short passage, respecting the navigation of this river, as well from our own observations as the different accounts which we could procure, was, that whatever talents, patience, and courage may be exercised in undertaking this expedition, there are obstacles which will forever render it impossible to obtain either charts or any certain details respecting the course of this river, which can serve either as a guide or instruction to travelers.

The Mississippi has not only the inconvenience of being of an immense extent, of winding in a thousand different directions, and of being intercepted by numberless islands; its current is likewise extremely unequal, sometimes gentle, sometimes rapid; at other times motionless; which circumstances will prevent as long as both sides remain uninhabited, the possibility of obtaining just data with respect to distances. But an insurmountable obstacle will always be found in the instability of the bed of this river, which changes every year; here a sharp point becomes a bay, there an island disappears altogether. Further on, new islands are formed, sand-banks change their spots and directions, and are replaced by deep channels; the sinuosities of the river are no longer the same; here where it once made a bend it now takes a right direction, and there the straight line becomes a curve; here ravages and disorders cannot be arrested or mastered by the hand of man, and it would be extreme folly to undertake to describe them, or pretend to give a faithful chart of this vast extent of waters, as we have done of the course of the Ohio, since it would not only be useless but dangerous. It is for these reasons that we shall confine ourselves, as we proceed, to general ideas with respect to the navigation of this river, and treat in detail only of the most striking military points situated on its current. If from the Ohio to the river Kaskaskias we have deviated from this rule, it is because that part of the river is reckoned the most difficult, and also varies less on account of the two chains of heights which bound its banks, and which fix and master its course.

CHAPTER XVI.

Country of the Illinois.—Period at Which the French Established Themselves.—Character of the Inhabitants.—Sketch of the Country.—Observations on the Mountains.—Conjectures.—Objections.—Communications.—Meadow of the Rock.—Fort St. Charles.—St. Philip.—New Design.—Hull's Station.—Salt Works.—Bound Station.—Indian Tombs.—Meadow of the Bridge.—Observations.—Kaokias.—Singular Country.—St. Lewis.—Fort.—Military Position of St. Lewis.—Florissant.—Marais des Liards.—St. Geneviéve.—Lusiére.—Mines.—Water Carriage.—Nomenclature of Different Gramine.—Plan of an Intrenched Camp.

The country of the Illinois is situated between the thirty-seventh and forty-fifth degree of northern latitude. The French took possession of this province in 1681, at the same period that William Penn laid the foundation of Pennsylvania.

The settlements on the Spanish side begin from Salt River and terminate at the Missouri, on the right bank of the Mississippi; those on the American side begin at the river Kankaskias, and end at Dog's Meadow (Prairie du Chien.)

The French settlements which still remain, situated on the Spanish side, are St. Genivieve, St. Lewis, Florissant, and St. Charles. This last is formed on the left side of the Missouri.

On the American side there are still some French at Kaskaskias, the Meadow of the Rock (Prairie du Rocher), St. Philips, Kaokias, Piorias, on the Red river, at Dog's Meadow, near the Ouisconsin, Chicagou, on the Lake Michigan, and at Post St. Vincent's, on the Wabash.

These people are, for the most part, traffickers, adventurers, hunters, rowers and warriors; ignorant superstitious and obstinate; accustomed to fatigue and privations, and stopped by no sense of danger in the undertakings they form, and which they usually accomplish.

In domestic life, their characters and dispositions are similar to those of the Indians with whom they live; indolent, careless and addicted to drunkenness, they cultivate little or no ground, speak a French jargon, and have forgotten the division of time and months. If they are asked at what time such an event took place, they answer, "in the time of the great waters, of the strawberries, of the maize, of potatoes;" if they are advised to change any practice which is evidently wrong, or if observations are made to them respecting the amelioration of agriculture, or the augmentation of any branch of commerce, the only answer they give is this: "It is the custom, our fathers did so, I have done well, my children will do the same." They love France, and speak of their country with pride.

The province of the Illinois is perhaps the only spot respecting which travelers have given no exaggerated accounts; it is superior to any description which has been made, for local beauty, fertility, climate, and the means of every kind which nature has lavished upon it for the facility of commerce.

This country is a delightful valley, where winds one of the most majestic rivers on the globe, and which, after receiving the vast Missouri, is still augmented by an infinite number of smaller rivers and creeks, all navigable, and fitted for the construction of mills and machinery of almost every kind.

This valley is full of small lakes and villages, and interspersed with woods and natural meadows, strewed with medicinal and odoriferous plants. Across these meadows flow numerous rivulets, sometimes murmuring beneath the flowers, and sometimes displaying their silver beds and their transparent waters, pure as the air which is breathed amidst those romantic spots. On each side of these vast meadows, which are level as the surface of the calm ocean, rise lofty and venerable forests, which serve as boundaries, while their thick and mysterious shades fill the mind with reverential awe and enthusiastic contemplation.

This valley is bounded on the right and left by two small chains of mountains running parallel with the banks of the river, but never more distant than four or five miles.

The chain on the east begins to be perceived from the mouth of the river Kaskaskias, and runs in the same direction as far as the Dog's Meadow, situated two hundred and forty leagues higher.

The western chain is visible from Cape Girardot, and runs in the same direction, nearly at the same height, and following the same bendings as that of the east.

These small chains rise commonly one hundred and fifty and sometimes two hundred feet above the level of the lands which separate them from the waters of the river. These masses of rock are composed sometimes of greystone, flint, with which the Indians tip their arrows, or millstone, but most frequently of limestone.

The lands which run along between these chains and the bed of the river, form, as I have already observed, vast meadows intersected with small woods; the whole of these lands are the product of successive depots, occasioned by the overflowings of the river. Trees half burnt are often found in digging, together with pieces of earthen and iron utensils. The whole is a bed of sand, the surface of which is covered by a vegetable layer, four or five feet in thickness.

It is probably that both these chains have been washed by the river; the different shells which are found incrusted, the constant parallelism of their layers with the horizon, and which is seen marked in the rocks, lying in the same direction, and the correspondent angles of these chains, are indications which support this conjecture. Here, nevertheless, a great difficulty presents itself; which is that of knowing how the river could at once have covered these two chains.

Many persons, and we were of the number, perplexed at the idea of the quantity of water necessary to cover this surface, suppose that the Mississippi may several times have changed its bed, and have flowed at different epochs over certain parts of these two chains; but the correspondence of the angles, the constant opposition of the concave with the convex parts, which so well demonstrate the course of the waters, oppose this hypothesis, and we are brought back almost irrestibly to believe that these two chains were once the two banks of the river.

In fact, had not the Mississippi washed at the same time both these chains, they would not always have run parallel and without interruption, and breaks would have been found at intervals, such as are observed in the current of the Ohio.

It may be inquired what is become of all the water which was necessary to fill so broad and deep a bed. The following is the most satisfactory solution which we could find of this difficult question.

When in descending the Mississippi we consider with attention the direction of these two chains of mountains, we observe that the nearer we approach the sea, the further they fall back from each other; till, at length, that on the western side flies off, and disappears altogether towards the Attakapas; whilst that on the east directs itself towards the mountains in the south of Florida.

From the point where these two chains are no longer visible, we find a prodigious extent of productive land, sometimes fifty leagues in breadth.

At thirty leagues from the mouth of the river is situated New Orleans, which is distant from the Gulf of Mexico on the right and left, only two leagues. In the midst of this peninsula runs, in different channels, the Mississippi, by which alone it could have been formed.

We know, also, that formerly this town was very near the mouth of the river, and consequently at a small distance from the sea shore. Admitting this to be the case, if we could carry back in our imaginations, above the Illinois, all the earth which has been washed down and deposited by the current in the stretch of land, which is now below New Orleans, we shall be convinced that the quantity of water necessary to fill and cover the space which then existed between the two chains, could not be immense, and that its volume appears insufficient at present, only from the changes which the water has itself produced. Besides, in the month of April, 1784, when a considerable inundation took place, the river reached from one chain to the other, and carried a barge from Kaskaskias to Kaokia, across the meadows and low lands which were under water. There are, moreover, strong conjectures that the lakes Michigan and Superior emptied their waters formerly into this river. The evidence for this conjecture is, that when the waters are high carrying from fifteen to twenty thousand weight pass from the Illinois river to the Lake Michigan, without portage, by traversing a marsh which joins the sources of the river Illinois with those of the river Chicago, which now discharges itself into the Lake Michigan. The Ouiscousin affords a similar proof.

No one is ignorant that Canada has suffered very considerable earthquakes; such, for example, as happened in 1663, when in a single night twenty-six shocks took place. The history of this colony informs us, that these earthquakes were felt over an extent of country more than one hundred leagues in breadth, and three hundred in length, from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence running to the West.

It is very probable, therefore, that the bed of granite which forms the cataract of the Niagara has been sunk in one of these violent commotions, and that previous to this convulsion of nature the waters of the lake emptied themselves into the Mississippi, this hypothesis explains easily how the waters of the river might have washed at the same time both the chains which filled the vast void that now exists; since the greater part of these waters at present discharge themselves into the river St. Lawrence.

But I offer this solution as the opinion of an individual little enlightened on a subject so abstruse, and which I leave to the meditation of those who are more conversant than myself with the secrets of nature.

There are two communications by land from Kaskaskias to Kaokia, one called the lower road, the other the upper. The first is practicable only during the summer, the second the whole year.

From Kaskaskias to the Meadow of the Rock is reckoned fifty miles, and the road lies across natural meadows and a soil extremely loamy, which renders it impracticable in rainy seasons. The vegetation of this soil is so luxuriant, that a man on horseback is covered by the height of the grass; we measured some stalks, which were twenty-one feet high.

The Meadow of the Rock is a small village situated at the foot of the chain of rocks, of which we have given the description; its population is composed of eighty or a hundred inhabitants at most, and the greater part are the produce of a mixture with the Indians.

At the Meadow of the Rock are two roads; that on the right goes across the heights; the left, which is the continuation of the lower road, traverses the meadows. A mile beyond the Meadow of the Rock, on the left, is a path now covered with grass, the track of which is scarcely to be seen. This path leads to Fort Charles, situated on the banks of the river, at the distance of a mile; its ruins are the only vestiges that remain of the power by which it was erected. This fort was begun by the French India Company in 1754, and finished in 1762, precisely at the period of the peace by which we lost our territorial possessions on this continent. Its form is square, with four bastions finely proportioned and covered with freestone. A wall surrounds it six feet thick and twenty high, with crannies and embrasures; opposite and parallel to the curtains are four large and magnificent buildings, one of which was destined for officers, one for the garrison, and the two others for military stores. The whole of these buildings are made of freestone, and raised on arches. This establishment was constructed with so much solidity and care, that in spite of time and the neglect in which it is left, the wall and buildings are still in good preservation; the timber has been taken away.

In front of the curtain which faces the river, are seen the remains of a very fine battery of six pieces of twelve that defended the passage of the river, by means of an island which is opposite, and narrows its bed. At a quarter of a mile from the fort, on the left, are the ruins of Chartres, covered with wild herbs.

Proceeding seven miles by the road on the right, reckoning from the point where it separates, leading to St. Charles, we reached St. Philip, which is a new settlement, and contains seven or eight families, among which are a few Americans. This space is intersected with woods, with natural meadows, and some marshes, which render St. Philip's unhealthy.

Two miles from thence is another crossway; the road on the right goes to New Design, and meets that which leads to the Meadow of the Rock; the road on the left goes into the valley.

Five miles further we reached Hull's Station, which is agreeably situated at the foot of the chain of mountains, on a small platform, high enough not to be incommoded by the thick and foggy air which spreads over the meadows. This station is composed as yet but of two houses, inhabited by Americans.

Eight miles beyond Hull's Station are the Salt Works; two roads lead to this place; that on the right is the most direct and the best, following the base of the mountain; the left leads through the meadows.

From the Salt Works to Bounds Station is a distance of five miles, which lie across a country alternately wood and meadow ground. On the left is a very considerable pond, filled with an innumerable quantity of water fowl of all kinds; this point is unhealthy during the summer.

A few miles beyond Bound's Station we passed some small huts on the left, newly constructed. Sixteen miles farther, following the course of the meadows, which are of an immense extent, we found several small mounds regularly ranged in a circular form; these were ancient Indian tombs.

Three miles further we reached the meadow of the bridge, leaving on the right a road which leads to the heights. The whole of this space is intersected with large ponds, some of which are three or four miles long, and one broad; these stagnant waters occasion, by their exhalations, many fevers in the autumn, and on this account the Meadow of the Bridge is very little peopled, the greater part of the inhabitants having gone over to the Spanish side..

Observing the level of the waters of the river, when it is low, and that of the waters of the lakes, we perceived that it would be very easy to dry up the latter by means of a few drainings, which might be cut across the meadows; but indolence and the want of population are impediments to this measure, and the inhabitants prefer changing their settlements to the labor of ameliorating those they already occupy.

From the Meadow of the Bridge to Kaokia is only a mile.

RECAPITULATION

Of the Distances of the Lower Road.

	Miles.
From Kaskaskias to the Meadow of the Rock	14
To St. Philip	8
Hull's Station	7
Salt Works	7
Bound's Station	5
Indian Tombs	16
Meadow of the Bridge	3
Kaokia	1
	61

Leaving the Meadow of the Rock, the road turns short to the right, passing a hollow which is very narrow, and following on the left a rivulet which is fordable at the distance of two miles. After climbing during a mile a very steep ascent, we reached a platform, which presents the view of a very singular country.

This country can neither be termed wood nor meadow; the trees with which it appears to be covered, are so thinly scattered, that the intervals are so large as not to intercept the light. Neither a thorn nor a shrub are to be seen, and only one kind of wood, the post oak, the trees of which are all of the same size and height. The ground is covered with grass of an excellent quality for cattle.

The singular aspect of this country can be attributed only to a custom among the Indians of setting fire every autumn to the grass and dead leaves of the forests, which destroys the whole, except this kind of oak.[1] It is to be observed also, that this oak is smaller, and not so lofty as those of other forests, where this accident has not taken place, and its bark is almost black. It is clear of branches, both great and small, to the height of twenty or twenty-five feet. The principal use of this timber is for inclosures or barriers, and it is as serviceable as cedar for these purposes.

The whole of this country is a gentle undulation, not a single rivulet is to be found, but there are a great number of springs of pure and limpid water.

The quality of the land is excellent; its vegetable layer is about three feet in depth. Great holes of a singular form are frequently seen, which have the figure of a cone reversed, or kind of funnel, the upper part of which is about one hundred yards broad, and thirty, forty and fifty feet in depth. Several of these have very plentiful springs of water; others are entirely dry during the summer; the issue cannot be traced by which the waters run off.

The same country and the same aspect continues without any variation till within three miles of Kaokia, when the upper road falls into the plain at Pickset's Station, and yours six miles further on the lower road.

The upper road is very good except for carriages; it is military, not only as it holds the summit of the whole country, but that by means of its undulations, every movement may be kept out of sight of the enemy.

DISTANCES OF THE UPPER ROAD.

From Kaskaskias to the Meadow of the Rock	14
To New Design	20
Belle Fontaine	2
Pickset's Station	16½
Kaokia	12
	64½

Independently of these two roads, there is another which communicates from Kaskaskias with Post St. Vincent's, and leads almost continually across fine natural meadows. The distance is computed at one hundred and fifty miles, which may be passed in five days on horseback; but this road is impassable for any carriage.

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[1] When a traveler is surprised by one of these fires, which happens commonly in the autumn, and sees the conflagration advance, which generally spreading over the whole extent of the meadow, runs rapidly on when aided by the wind, the only measure to adopt, in order to preserve himself from a danger so immeinent, is to light a fire behind him; by this means the grass is already burnt when the devouring flame reaches the spot, where finding nothing more to consume, it stops and is necessarily extinguished. For this reason every one who travels in the autumn, amidst these plains, cannot be too strongly recommended to provide himself with a tinder-box, which the inhabitants of the country are careful to do, since their lives are so nearly concerned.

These natural meadows are highly agreeable to the traveler, who passes them without suffering any of the inconveniences which he finds in the forests, such as reptiles and insects, since it is well known that the moschettoes, with which the woods are filled, and which are so troublesome, cannot bear the light; much less the rays of the sun, by which they perish; they can only exist amidst damps and darkness. With respect to reptiles, they must be extremely rare in these meadows, which are consumed every autumn by the Indians.

Two miles above Kaokia, and on the right bank of the river, is situated the town of St. Lewis, or Pincour, on a platform high enough to be at all times out of the reach of inundations.

The population of this town is estimated at six hundred inhabitants, of whom two hundred, all French,[1] are capable of bearing arms.

Kaokia is situated at the extremity of this immense and beautiful valley, it contains about three hundred families, of which there are a hundred men capable of bearing arms.

These men are less degenerate than the race which dwell on the American side; we found among them that sentiment of attachment to their country which characterise the French nation; they appeared to be excellent patriots, whose lives and fortunes are devoted to France; families of laborers in easy circumstances, and prosperous merchants. The people in general would be happy, were it not for the viciousness of the administration, which grants exclusive privileges to strangers for the fur trade; privileges always odious to the people and ruinous for the states, since they annihilate industry and destroy emulation.

It might easily be presumed from the situation in which we found the forts, and the weakness of the garrison, which consisted of seventeen men, that Spain had the intention of abandoning Upper Louisiana.

At the time this post was menaced by Genet's expedition, ill combined and still worse directed, a paltry square redoubt was constructed, flanked by four bastions, the sides of which were precisely two feet and a half, (the space of a single man) and surrounded with a ditch two feet deep and six in breadth, with an inclosure of crannied planks. A garrison of seventeen men and the inhabitants, all devoted to France, were charged with the defense of this post.

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[1] A circumstance worthy of notice, with respect to our national character, is, that we never incorporate, generally speaking, with any other nation; wherever we go, we wish to plant ourselves, to introduce our own tastes, manners, customs, and language. It is to this generous pride that we must attribute that marked difference which exists in the mode of our forming settlements in foreign countries, from that of other emigrants. The French unite, and form themselves into towns and villages, whilst others disperse and melt into the mass of the people amongst whom they dwell, as may be observed in the United States.

This love of our country, this national prejudice, far from being a subject of ridicule, as it has been treated by some modern writers, ought rather to be regarded as a virtue, of which wise governments know how to take advantage. Who knows if Louisiana and Canada would not have balanced the immense influence which England has obtained in the United States, if France had supported her colonies, as those of the English have been protected by their government. England owes her influence to the introduction of her manners, her customs, her language, her religion, and her marine: I say, her marine, because to be master of the world, it is necessary to be sovereign of the sea. This political axiom is of ancient date: the Greeks transmitted it to the Romans, and it has since been adopted by every nation: it is in this sense that one of our tragic writers (Lemierre) says:

"Le trident de Neptune est le sceptre du monde."

The order of the commander was the only thing reasonable in this extraordinary defense of Upper Louisiana; it stated in substance, that immediately on the appearance of the enemy, the garrison should retreat to New Madrid. We shall speak of that place at the end of the work.

The position of St. Lewis, five leagues from the mouth of the Missouri, and eight from that of the Illinois, considered in a military point of view, is one of the best on the river Mississippi. If it were put into a respectable state of defense, it would cover Upper Louisiana, and prevent every irruption by the Upper Mississippi, the Illinois and the Missouri; commanding, at the same time, the Western States and Upper Canada, each of which might be invaded by three different roads; the first in ascending the Mississippi, and the Ouiscousin, from whence a carrying place of three miles leads to Fox River and Green Bay, which makes part of Lage Michigan, the second by ascending the Illinois river, and gaining by Chickago the sources of the river Kennomick, which empties itself likewise into the same lake; this may be effected in high waters without carriage, by traversing a marsh where there is four or five feet of water; and the third, in proceeding from Kaskaskias, and gaining the post of St. Vincent's by a fine communication of one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty miles across a country of natural meadows, and afterwards ascending the Wabash as far as the sources of the river Miamis, the waters of which fall into Lake Erie.[1]

St. Lewis can also oppose every irruption by the Ohio against New Madrid: that town being situated above the mouth of the river at the distance only of fifty leagues, this space might be run in thirty-six hours with gallies; the advantages of being master of the current, in the navigation of a river, are still more decisive than having the wind at sea.

If we consider St. Lewis in a commercial point of view, we shall find its position still more fortunate. This place will stand in the same relation to New Orleans, as Albany to New York; it is there that will be collected all the produce transported by the great rivers which meet near this point, after traversing such fine and fertile countries. It is there that the traders would bring all the fine furs of the Missouri, and other adjacent rivers; a source of inexhaustible riches for more than a century.

It is at St. Lewis that a stop may be put to the invasions and usurpations of England. St. Lewis will become the military point for the defense of the head of the Mississippi, and the mouth of the Missouri, and to support the different posts which might be formed upon this river;. it will be the central point for all internal administrations, and from which the traders will take their departure.[2] Upon the whole, it will be by St. Lewis that the communication will be opened with the Southern Ocean, and its waters connected with those of the Gulf of Mexico; and this may be effected with more facility, more safety, and with more economy for trade and navigation, than in any other given point in North America.[3]

These considerations, which even the peace cannot annul, decided the French plenipotentiary to propose to the Spanish minister on my return in the month of January, 1797, the plan of defence which will be found at the end of this chapter; a plan which may be considered as only temporary, but which may one day serve as the basis of a plan of defence more mature and complete, when circumstances, time, and experience shall have furnished easier means of examination, and more exact details than those which could be collected in a situation so delicate as that in which we undertook the survey of this place.

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[1] See the particular description of each of those rivers.

[1] Those who are here called traders, are persons who traffic with the Indians for furs.

[2] See the description of the Missouri.

Four leagues to the north of St. Lewis, and a league from the mouth of the Missouri, a new settlement has been formed, called Florissant, which contains already thirty families, the greater part American, and all good farmers.

A mile west of Florissant is another settlement formed by the French, called Marais des Lairds, which contains an hundred families. Two leagues and a half farther on towards the northwest, and on the left of the Missouri, is situated the last settlement of civilized men, called St. Charles, containing two hundred families, all traders or hunters.

Twenty-four leagues to the south of St. Lewis, and on the same side, is situated the small town of St. Geneviéve, vulgarly called by the people Misere. It was originally built on the banks of the river, but the frequency of the inundations forced the inhabitants to transport their settlement two miles back at the foot of a small height; there are still a few huts remaining, inhabited by the traders of the old village.

This little town contains at present twelve hundred inhabitants of both sexes, whites and blacks, slaves and freemen, of which two hundred and forty bear arms; but out of that number, sixty only can be considered as soldiers.

On the upper part of the platform on which St. Geneviéve is situated, stands a small fort, of the same form and constructed with the same kind of materials as that of St. Lewis; that is to say, square, and surrounded with planks to support the earth, and serve at the same time for palisadoes. Two pieces of iron cannon of two pounders, a corporal and two soldiers, were at this time the sole defence of the place.

This position on the whole is extremely bad, being much too distant from the river to protect its navigation. The fort on the southeast is entirely under the command of the platform on which it is built, the farther you go to the back of this position, the more the ground rises gradually; and these heights being connected with each other a great length of space, and commanding each other successively, it is impossible to occupy them all at once. This situation ought therefore to be abandoned as an intermediary point between St. Lewis and the Ohio, as had been once projected. We shall take occasion to point out another far superior in all respects.

Two miles to the southeast of St. Geneviéve, on the height, is an increasing settlement, called Lusiere; this is a concession which has lately been made by the government to a French refugee of this name, who fled, like many others, from assassins and executioners.

Two leagues from St. Geneviéve, towards the sources of a rivulet which empties itself into the Mississippi, is a lead mine and a lime quarry, both of which are at present worked, on the heights of Marimeck. An iron mine, extremely rich, has been lately discovered, but is not worked for want of hands and means. Mr. Burd, an inhabitant of New Jersey, and in partnership with Robert Morris, has visited it and extracted several pieces of ore, which have been found by professional men to be of the first quality; this mine is so much the more precious, as it is the only one of the kind hitherto known in Upper Louisiana. We brought away specimens of these various minerals.

All conveyances from St. Geneviéve to St. Lewis are made by water; no communication by land for carriages having yet been opened; the road at present is practicable only for horsemen and foot passengers.

The passage of the river, in the communication of St. Lewis with Kaokia, either from St. Geneviéve to Kaskaskias, or across the Missouri from St. Lewis to St. Charles, is made with canoes of different sizes; but these boats are not large enough to carry either horses or carriages; the horses are commonly made to swim across the stream.

RECAPITULATION OF THE DISTANCES

From St. Lewis to the Neighbouring Villages.

Spanish Side.	Leagues.
From St. Lewis to Florissant	4
To Marais des Liards	4½
To St. Charles	6
To St. Genevieve	24

Independently of the description which we shall give under the article of agriculture, of the vegetation that clothes and the productions that enrich this fine country, we deem it necessary to add, that it abounds in all kinds of gramen, from dog's grass to reeds thirty feet high; the great and lesser kinds of mallows, violets, nettles, dandelions, maiden hair, ferns, horsetail, thistles, briars, squinant, iris, cresses, milfoil, St. John's wort, centaury, hen bane, pellitory, of the wall, vervain, mint, thyme, burdock, endive, hops storksbill, purslain, sowthistle, woodsorrell, melilot, trefoil, luzerne, Venus-navel, ginger, gentian, the second and fourth species of ipecacuanha, the bastard senna, the bastard indigo, three kinds of sensitives, camomile, bugloss, comfrey, wild marjaram, sage, mother wort, wormwood, poppy, terragon, pumpkin sorrel, strawberry plant, asparagus, golden rod, scabious, the winter cherry, lilac, palma-christi, Indian fig-tree, rosemary, marjoram, several of the flowers cultivated in Europe, the great blind nettle, blind oats, white root, red root, the spindle tree, the liana, dragon's blood, geranium, and fumitory, friendsroot, white meadow wood, the tea-tree of Labrador, and the Obelia.

The trees most common are five or six kinds of walnuts trees and of oaks, the mulberry tree, apple tree, pear, plumb and cherry trees; the ash, the willow, the elm, the hawthorn, the poplar, the beech, laurels, acacias, plane trees, pines, firs, red and white cedars, the cypress, peach trees, fig trees and chestnuts; pomegranates, the thorny ash, the small cotton tree, and the little oak. We found also, the orange, lemon and lime trees, with every other production of the most favored climes.

Every season presents its peculiar vegetable productions; it would, therefore, be almost impossible for a single individual to examine and give an exact enumeration of the whole. We collected our information on this subject from Mr. Perron, who had resided in Upper Louisiana ten years, and who had been continually employed in the study of natural history.

CHAPTER XVII.

Description of the River of the Illinois.

The river of the Illinois is situated towards the thirty-ninth degree thirty minutes northern latitude, and six leagues above the Missouri, on the eastern side of the Mississippi. This river is about five hundred yards wide at its mouth.

The chain of rocks and high mornes which begins at the mouth of the Kaskaskias, and which runs parallel with the Mississippi, passing behind the Meadow of the Rock, St. Philips, Kaokia, and de Piasas, turns near the mouth of the river of the Illinois, and keeps at greater or less remote distances, on its eastern side, the same direction as this river.

After ascending the river eighteen miles, on the eastern side, we reached a small river, called Macopin, which signifies in the Indian language White Yam. This river is about twenty yards broad at its mouth, and is navigable nine miles.

In this space, the maple or sugar tree, the ash and other wood fit for construction, are very common.

At slight distances on each side of the river, are fine natural meadows; the earth on these banks does not break off like those of the Mississippi. We passed several islands, some of which were from nine to twelve miles long and three miles broad; after which the breadth of the river continues to be about four hundred yards, and runs N. N. W.

Thirty-six miles above the Macopin is the village of the Priorias, situated at one mile distance from the left bank, and behind which are several small lakes, that communicate with each other, and are surrounded with natural meadows of great extent. The passage which these lakes have opened to the river is very narrow, and practicable only for small canoes. The high chain, which follows the river, falls back here to a considerable distance.

Twenty-seven miles farther up the river are several small islands, covered with a great quantity of animals, and eighteen miles beyond is another island of some extent, called Pierre á flêches. Near this island mountains not lofty, border the western side of the river; on these heights the Indians find the stones with which they point their arrows.

The eastern side is bordered by natural meadows to a great extent; the land is very fertile, and watered by a multitude of small rivulets which are never dry. The heights are covered with the tallest ash trees; the banks of the river are high, its waters are limpid, rolling over a bed of sand and white clay.

Eighteen miles farther up is Mine River, called by the Canadians Bad Land (Mauvaise Terre.) During this space, the aspect of the country continues the same; on the east lie natural meadows, which are sometimes nine, twelve and fifteen miles broad; on the west is the chain of small hills, that runs parallel with the course of the river.

Mine river is not more than fifty yards wide at its mouth; its current is very rapid, and its banks on each side are low, but rise afterwards gradually. The lands along this river are of a very fine quality, particularly for corn and pasturage.

Twenty-one miles above Mine river is the Sagamond, situated on the western side, at the extremity of the chain of small mornes. This river is about one hundred yards broad, and is navigable one hundred and eighty miles for small canoes, the right side is very low, and the left bordered during a space of six or nine miles by small mornes.

Twenty miles from the Sagamond is the river Demi Quain, on the same side. This river is fifty yards broad, and is navigable one hundred and twenty miles.

Nine miles above this river is Demi Quain Lake situated on the western side. This lake, of a circular form, is at least six miles in diameter, and empties itself into the Illinois river by a small channel, which is always four feet deep. The banks are bordered by natural meadows, especially on the western side, where the view is unbounded. This part of the country has little wood, the lands are fine in every direction, and the waters of the river and lake perfectly limpid. The course of the river, preceding from the lake, is eastward, and the navigation excellent.

Twelve miles above the lake, and on the same side, is the river of Sesme Quain. This river is forty yards broad, is navigable for canoes sixty miles, and flows through a very fertile country.

Nine miles higher, and on the same side, is the river March, thirty yards broad, and navigable nine miles only for small skiffs. The country here begins to rise gradually towards the west.

Nine miles higher, on the eastern side, is the river Michilimackinac, fifty yards broad, and navigable ninety miles. There are thirty or forty small islands at its mouth, which at a distance have the appearance of a village. On the banks of this river there is excellent timber; the red and white cedar, the pine, the maple and walnut tree. The land is high on both sides, and the woods are intersected at certain distances by fine natural meadows, covered with grass of the best quality for cattle.

The river Michilimackinac forms the line of separation of the counties of St. Clair and Knox from the state of the Northwest Territory.

Twelve miles above the Michilimackinac is the village of Pioria, called also by the Canadians the Piss; it is inhabited by fifteen Canadian families, who till the land and trade with the Indians. There is an old fort situated at the southern extremity of a considerable lake, called the Illinois lake. In this lake there is neither rock, shoal, nor current. The ruins of the block house that formed the fort are still seen. On the north the lake opens in its whole extent; on the west vast natural meadows close the horizon, and towards the east of the lake terminates the chain of rocks, which taking its rise behind the Kaskaskias, the Kaokia, etc., follows constantly the same direction as the Illinois River.

RECAPITULATION OF DISTANCES

From the mouth of the Mississippi to	Miles.
The River Macopin	18
Priorias	36
Several Small Islands	27
Island Pierre a Fléche	18
Mine River	18
The Sangamond	21
Demi Quain River	21
Demi Lake	9
Semi Quain River	12
March River	9
Michilimackinac River	9
Piss Village	12
	210

THE WESTERN GAZETEER OR EMIGRANT'S DIRECTORY,

By Samuel R. Brown, Auburn, N. Y., 1817. Pages 17-35.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY.

The boundaries of the Illinois territory are defined by law—the Ohio washes its southern border, extending from the mouth of the Wabash to its junction with the Mississippi, a distance of 160 miles; the Mississippi constitutes the western boundary from the mouth of the Ohio to the Rocky Hills, in north latitude 41.50, a distance, measuring the meanderings of that river, of more than 600 miles; a line due east from the Rocky Hills (not yet run) divides it from the Northwestern Territory; the Wabash separates it from Indiana, from its mouth to within sixteen miles of Fort Harrison, where the division line leaves the river, running north until it intersects the northern boundary line in N lat. 41.50. The length of the territory in a direct line from north to south is 347 miles—its mean breadth 206. Its southern extremity is in 36.57 N. lat. It contains 52,000 square miles, or 33,280,000 acres.

The form of this extensive country is that of an imperfect triangle—its base being the northern boundary of the territory, or the parallel of the southern extremity of lake Michigan; and the Mississippi its hypothenuse.

The present population is estimated at 20,000 souls; all white. It increases, it is supposed, in the ratio of thirty per cent. annually, which is accellerating. Slavery is not admitted. The inhabitants principally reside on the Wabash below Vincennes, on the Mississippi, Ohio and Kaskaskia.

No state or territory in North America can boast of superior facilities of internal navigation. Nearly 1,000 miles, or, in other words, two-thirds of its frontier is washed by the Wabash, Ohio and Mississippi. The placid Illinois traverses this territory in a southwestern direction, nearly 400 miles. This noble river is formed by the junction of the rivers Theakaki and Plein in N. lat. 41.48. Unlike the other great rivers of the western country, its current is mild and unbroken by rapids, meandering at leizure through one of the finest countries in the world. It enters the Mississippi about 200 miles above its confluence with the Ohio and 18 above the mouth of the Missouri, in 38.42 N. lat. Is upwards of 400 yards wide at its mouth, bearing from the Mississippi N. 75 deg. west. The tributaries of this river entering from the north or right bank, are 1. The Mine, 70 miles long, falls into the Illinois about 75 miles from its mouth. 2. The Sagamond, a crooked river, enters the Illinois 130 miles from the Mississippi. It is 100 yards wide at its entrance, and navigable 150 miles for small craft—general course southeast. 3. Demi Quain, enters twenty-eight miles above the mouth of the Sagamond; its course nearly southeast, and it is said to be navigable 120 miles. On the northern bank of this river is an extensive morass called Demi Quain Swamp. 4. Sesme Quain is the next river entering from the northwest, thirty miles above the mouth of Demi Quain, sixty yards wide and boatable sixty miles. The land on its banks is represented to be of superior excellence. 5. La Marche, a little river from the north—navigable but a short distance. 6. Fox river comes in nearly equi-distant between the Illinois lake and the junction of the Plein and Theakaki rivers, is 130 yards wide—heads near the sources of Rocky river (of the Mississippi), and pursues a northeastern course for the first 50 miles, as though making effort to get into Lake Michigan, approaches to within two miles of Plein river, it then takes a southern direction and is navigable 130 miles. 7. Plein, or Kickapoo river, interlocks in a singular manner, with the Chicago; running into Lake Michigan; 60 miles from its head it expands and forms Lake Depage, five miles below which it joins the Theakaki from the northeast. Those streams united, are to the Illinois what the Alleghany and Monongahela, are to the Ohio—they water parts of Indiana and the N. W. Territory.

The rivers of the left branch of the Illinois fall in the following order: 1. The Macopin, a small river, twenty-five yards wide, twenty miles from the Mississippi; boatable 9 miles to the hills. 2. The Little Michilimackinac, 200 miles from the Mississippi; navigable 90 miles, comes from the S. E. It interweaves its branches with the Kaskaskia—has several considerable forks. 3. Crow Meadow river, heads in the Knobs, near the head waters of the Vermilion (of the Wabash), its course is N. W., is but 20 yards wide at its mouth, and navigable about 15 miles. 4. Vermilion River, from the S. E., 30 yards wide, rocky and unnavigable, falls into the Illinois 160 miles from the Mississippi, near the S. E. end of the Little Rocks. 5. Rainy Island River, from the S. E. narrow and navigable but a few miles.

> "The banks of the Illinois are generally high. The bed of the river being a white marble, or clay, or sand, the waters are remarkably clear. It abounds with beautiful islands, one of which is ten miles long; and adjoining or near to it, are many coal mines, salt ponds, and small lakes. It passes through one lake, two hundred and ten miles from its mouth, which is twenty miles in length, and three or four miles in breadth, called Illinois lake."—*A Late Officer of the U. S. Army.*

The Kaskaskia is the next river in magnitude. It heads in the extensive prairies south of Lake Michigan, its course is nearly north. In enters the Mississippi 100 miles above the mouth of the Ohio, and 84 below the Illinois, and is navigable 130 miles. Its tributaries from the west and northwest are Water-cress and Lalande creeks, those entering from the east are Blind river, Bighill creek, Beaver, Yellow creek and Copper mine creek.

A respectable correspondent, residing on the Kaskaskia, gives the following interesting sketch, under date of January 20, 1817:

"The Kaskaskia river waters the finest country I have ever seen—it is neither flat or mountainous, but maintains a happy undulating medium between the extremes—it is suited to the growth of Indian corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, hemp, tobacco, etc., etc. The climate is too cold for cotton, as a staple, or for sugar. On the streams of this river there are already built, and now building a great number of mills—it is navigable at least 150 miles on a straight line—it is generally conceded that the permanent seat of government for the State, will be fixed on this river, near a direct line from the mouth of Missouri to Vincennes, in the State of Indiana. The inhabitants residing on this river and its waters, may not be as polished as some; but I will say, without fear of contradiction that no people have a more abundant stock of hospitality, morality, and religion. On the bank of this river, a few miles above its mouth, is situated the town of Kaskaskia, the present seat of government. Here is a fine harbor for boats.

The great American bottom of the Mississippi begins at the mouth of the Kaskaskia river, extending nearly to the mouth of the Illinois river, supposed to contain six hundred square miles. No land can be more fertile. Some of it has been in cultivation one hundred and twenty years, and still no deterioration has yet manifested itself—it is unquestionably the Delta of America. Great numbers of cattle are bought in that country for the Philadelphia and Baltimore markets—it is undoubtedly a very fine stock country."

Au Vase river empties into the Mississippi fifty-five miles above the mouth of the Ohio; it is boatable 60 miles, through a fine prairie country. It drains a district 70 by 25 miles. The little river Marie waters a district between the Au Vase and Kaskaskia. Wood river is the principal stream between the mouths of the Kaskaskia and Illinois.

Rocky river waters the northwest corner of the territory. It heads in the hills west of the south end of Lake Michigan, and is 300 yards wide at its entrance into the Mississippi—it bears from the Mississippi almost due east—about three miles up this river is an old Indian town, belonging to the Sac nation. Sand Bay river discharges itself into the Mississippi between the mouths of Rocky and Illinois rivers.

The streams falling into the Ohio, from this territory, below the mouth of the Wabash, are few and inconsiderable in size. The Saline is the first—it empties its waters 26 miles below the mouth of the Wabash. It is 150 yards wide at its mouth—navigable for keels and batteaux for 30 miles. The famous U. S. Salt-Works, are upon this stream, twenty miles up by the windings of the river, but not more than ten in a direct line. Sandy Creek between this and Fort Massac; and Cash River, 15 miles below Wilkinsonville, are the only ones deserving mention, though there are others sufficiently large to afford mill seats.

In addition to the rivers and rivulets already described, the eastern part of the territory is watered by several respectable rivers running into the Wabash. 1. Little Wabash River, from the northwest—60 yards wide. 2. Fox river, which interlocks with eastern branches of the Kaskaskia—enters the Wabash about 50 miles below Vincennes. 3. The Embarras or river of Embarrasment, enters the Wabash a little below Vincennes—course southeast. 4. Mascoutin, from the north-west, 50 yards wide. 5. St. Germain, from the west; a mere rivulet. Tortue, from the west, a crooked, long river. The three last mentioned rivers enter the Wabash, in the order named, between Vincennes and Fort Harrison. 7. Broutte. 8. Duchat. 9. Erabliere. 10. Rejoicing. These rivers all head in the Illinois territory, and enter the Wabash, between Fort Harrison and Tippecanoe. The last is 100 yards wide at its mouth.

There are many small lakes in this territory. Several of the rivers have their sources in them. They abound with wild fowl and fish. On the left bank of the Illinois, 40 miles from its mouth, are a chain of small lakes communicating by narrow channels, with each other, one of them discharges into the Illinois. The prairies bordering these lakes constitute the Peorias' wintering ground. Illinois and Depage lakes are merely expansions of the Illinois and Plein rivers. Demiquain lake is situated on the right bank of the Illinois, above the mouth of the river of the same name—it is of a circular form; six miles across; and empties its waters into the Illinois. There are also several small lakes in the American Bottom, such as Marrodizua, five miles long, twenty-two miles below the mouth of Wood River; Bond lake three miles further down; their outlets discharge into the Mississippi. On their margins are delightful plantations.

Face of the Country.

There are six distinct kinds of land in Illinois. 1. Bottoms, bearing honey locust, pecan, black walnut, beach, sugar maple, buckeye, pawpaw, etc. This land is of the first quality, and may be said to be ripe alluvion, and is found in greater or less quantities, on all the rivers before enumerated. It is called the first bottom. It is almost invariably covered with a pretty heavy growth of the foregoing trees, grape vines, etc., and in autumn the air of these bottoms is agreeably impregnated with an aromatic smell, caused no doubt by the fruit and leaves of the black walnut. This land is inexhaustible in fecundity, as is proved by its present fertility, where it has been annually cultivated without manure, for more than a century. It varies in width from 50 rods to two miles and upwards. 2. The newly formed or unripe alluvion; this kind of land is always found at the mouths and confluences of rivers; it produces sycamore, cotton wood, water maple, water ash, elm, willow oak, willow, etc., and is covered in autumn with a luxuriant growth of weeds. These bottoms are subject to inundations, the banks being several feet below high water mark. There are many thousand acres of this land at the mouth of the Wabash, and at the confluence of the Mississippi. Woe be to the settler, who locates himself upon this deleterious soil. 3. Dry prairie, bordering all the rivers, lies immediately in the rear of the bottoms; from 30 to 100 feet higher; and from one to ten miles wide, a dry rich soil, and most happily adapted to the purposes of cultivation, as it bears drought and rain with equal success. These prairies are destitute of trees, unless where they are crossed by streams and occasional islands of wood land. The prairies of the Illinois river are the most extensive of any east of the Mississippi, and have alone been estimated at 1,200,000 acres. This soil is some places black, in others of the colour of iron rust interspersed with a light white sand. In point of productiveness, it is not inferior to the first rate river bottoms, and in some respects superior. 4. Wet prairie, which are found remote from streams, or at their sources, the soil is generally cold and barren, abounding with swamps, ponds, and covered with a tall coarse grass. 5. Timbered land, moderately hilly, well watered, and of a rich soil. 6. Hills, of a sterile soil and destitute of timber, or covered with stinted oaks and pines.

Between the mouths of the Wabash and the Ohio, the right bank of the Ohio, in many places presents the rugged appearance of bold projecting rocks. The banks of the Kaskaskia and Illinois in some places present a sublime and picturesque scenery. Several of their tributary streams have excavated for themselves deep and frightful gulfs, particularly, those of the first named river, the banks of which near the junction of Big Hill creek, present a perpendicular front of 140 feet high, of solid limestone. The northwestern part of the territory is a hilly, broken country, in which most of the rivers emptying into the Wabash from the north, have their heads. A great part of the territory is open prairie, some of which are of such vast extent that the sun apparently rises and sets within their widely extended borders.

"The large tract of country through which the Illinois river and its branches meander, is said not to be exceeded in beauty, levelness, richness and fertility of soil, by any tract of land, of equal extent, in the United States. From the Illinois to the Wabash, excepting some little distance from the rivers, is almost one continued prairie, or natural meadow, intermixed with groves, or copses of wood, and some swamps and small lakes. These beautiful, and to the eye of the beholder, unlimited fields, are covered with a luxuriant growth of grass, and other vegetable productions."

Travelers describe the scenery skirting the Illinois as beautiful beyond description. There is a constant succession of prairies, stretching in many places, from the river farther than the eye can reach, and elegant groves of woodland. The trees are represented as peculiarly handsome; having their branches overspread with rich covering of the vine. Nevertheless, it is the empire of solitude, for the cheering voice of civilized men is seldom heard on this delightful stream.

According to the late General Pike, the east shore of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Missouri to that of the Illinois (20 miles) is bordered by hills from 80 to 100 feet high; above, they are of gentle ascent, alternately presenting beautiful cedar clifts and distant ridges. The bottoms afford many eligible situations for settlements. Above and below the mouth of Rocky river are beautiful prairies.

TREES, PLANTS, MINERALS.

The oak family may be said to be the prevailing forest tree of Illinois. There are four species of white oak; two of chestnut oak, mountain and Illinois; three of willow oak, upland, swamp and shingle, so called from its being an excellent material for shingles, and which is used for that purpose by the inhabitants. It is found on all the rivers of the territory. Its height is from 40 to 50 feet, grey bark, straight branches, large, sessile, dark green leaves, a little downy underneath; spherical acorns. Black jack, black oak, swamp oak, scarlet oak, so called from its scarlet colored leaves in autumn; grows to the height of 80 feet, useful for rails. The honey locust is found in all the swails, bottoms and rich hills of the west, from the lakes to the latitude of Natchez. It invariably rejects a poor soil, grows to the height of 40 or 60 feet, dividing into many branches, which together with the trunk, are armed with long, sharp, pithy spines of the size of goose quills, from five to ten inches in length, and frequently so thick as to prevent the ascent of a squirrel. The branches are garnished with winged leaves, composed of ten or more pair of small lobes, sitting close to the midrib, of a lucid green colour. The flowers come out from the sides of the young branches, in form of katkins, of an herbaceous colour, and are succeeded by crooked, compressed pods, from nine or ten to sixteen or eighteen inches in length, and about an inch and a half or two inches in breadth, of which near one-half is filled with a sweet pulp, the other containing many seeds in separate cells. The pods, from the sweetness of their pulp, are used to brew beer, and afford for hogs and many other animals a nutritious and abundant food. I have myself been in situations, when I was obliged to resort to them as a substitute for something better, and always found them to allay hunger, and renew almost exhausted strength. The black walnut is found on the bottoms and rich hills—it often rises to the height of 70 feet; large trunk, dark, furrowed bark; winged leaves, which emit an aromatic flavor when bruised; fruit round and nearly as large as a peach. The wood is light and durable. Butternut is a companion of the black walnut. Besides all the species of hickory found in the northern states, the pecan or Illinois nut grows plentifully in the rich swails and bottoms; the nuts are small and thin shelled. The banks of the Illinois are the favorite soil of the mulberry, and of the plum. Sugar maple, blue and white oak, black locust, elm, basswood, beech, buckeye, hackberry, coffee-nut tree, and sycamore, are found in their congenial soils, throughout the territory. White pine is found on the head branches of the Illinois. Spice wood sassafras, black and white haws, crab apple, wild cherry, cucumber and pawpaw, are common to the best soils. The last yields a fruit of the size of a cucumber, of a yellow colour, in taste resembling the pine apple. They grow in clusters of three, four and five, in the crotches of a soft straight and beautiful shrub from ten to twenty-five feet high, it is rarely found on the hills however rich their soil. The forests and banks of the streams abound with grape vines, of which there are several species; some valuable. The herbage of the woods varies little from that of Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana.

Copper and lead are found in several parts of the territory. I am not informed as to the existence of iron ore. Travellers speak of an allum hill a considerable distance up Mine river, and of another hill, producing the fleche or arrow stone. The French while in possession of the country, procured millstones above the Illinois lake. Coal is found upon the banks of the Au Vase or Muddy River, and Illinois 50 miles above Peoria Lake; the latter mine extends for half a mile along the right bank of the river. A little below the coal mines are two salt ponds one hundred yards in circumference, and several feet in depth; the water is stagnant, and of a yellowish colour. The French inhabitants and Indians make good salt from them. Between two and three hundred thousand bushels of salt are annually made at the U. S. Saline, 26 miles below the mouth of the Wabash. These works supply the settlements of Indiana and Illinois. The salt is sold at the works at from fifty to seventy-five cents a bushel. Government have leased the works to Messrs. Wilkins and Morrison of Lexington. Beds of white clay are found on the rivers Illinois and Tortue. The prevailing stone is lime.

Villages, Roads and Settlements.

There are several old French villages on both banks of the Illinois, which are antique in appearance, inhabited by a people inured to the habits of savage life.

Cahokia is situated on a small stream, about one mile east of the Mississippi, nearly opposite to St. Louis. It contains about 160 houses, mostly French, who were its founders. "This town, although apparently of considerable elevation, is still a damp and disagreeable situation, owing to its being too level to permit the rains to run off very easily." It formerly enjoyed a considerable share of the fur trade. At present the inhabitants confine their attention chiefly to agriculture, but not with much spirit. There is a postoffice and a chapel for the Roman Catholic worship; and is the seat of justice for St. Clair county.

St. Philippe—In the American bottom, 45 miles below Cahokia, a pleasant old French village.

Prairie du Rochers—Twenty miles below St. Phillippe, contains from sixty to seventy French families; the streets are narrow; there is a Catholic chapel. The country below and above is a continued prairie of the richest soil.

Kaskaskia—Situated on the right shore of the river of the same name, eleven miles from its mouth, and six from the Mississippi, in a direct line. It is at present the seat of the territorial government and chief town of Randolph county; contains 160 houses, scattered over an extensive plain; some of them are of stone. Almost every house has a spacious picketed garden in its rear. The houses have a clumsy appearance; it is 150 miles southwest of Vincennes, and 900 from the city of Washington. The inhabitants are more than half French; they raise large stocks of horned cattle, horses, swine, poultry, etc. There is a postoffice, a land office for the sale of the public lands, and a printing office, from which is issued a weekly newspaper entitled the "Illinois Herald." This place was settled upwards of 100 years ago, by the French of lower Canada. The surrounding lands are in a good state of cultivation.

The villages on the Ohio, below the Wabash are: Shawneetown, above the mouth of the Saline, containing 30 or 40 log buildings; the inhabitants live by the profits of the salt trade. The growth of the town has been greatly retarded in consequence of the United States having reserved to themselves the property of the cite of this place, the salt licks, as well as the intermediate tract between this and Saline river, 9 miles distant. It is a place of great resort for boats, and in time will no doubt become a place of consequence, as the lands in its vicinity are of a good quality. Here formerly stood an Indian village of the Shawannoe nation.

Wilkinsonville—About half way between Fort Massac and the mouth of the Ohio, stands upon a beautiful savanna of 100 acres, 60 or 70 feet above the river. It is a place of little or no trade at present, and has sensibly declined since it lost the governmental patronage of a garrison. It has a fine eddy for boats.

There are several other small villages, such as Belle Fontaine, L'Aigle, Edwardville, etc. A new village is about to be laid out at the mouth of Cash. There are two roads leading through the Ohio to Kaskaskia. The first leaves the Ohio at Robin's ferry, 17 miles below the Saline; distance to Kaskaskia, 135 miles. The other leaves the river at Lusk's ferry, 15 miles above the mouth of Cumberland. This is the shortest route by 15 or 20 miles. A post route passes from Vincennes to Kaskaskia, about 150 miles long—travellers are obliged to camp out two or three nights. Government have leased out a number of lots upon these roads, and receive the rents in repairs of a given distance of road. There is a tolerable road between the mouth of Au Vase and Wood river, passing through Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rochers, St. Philippe and Cahokia. Most of the settlements are connected by practicable roads, at least for packers and travellers on horseback. The bulk of the population is settled upon the Mississippi, Kaskaskia and its branches. There are a few detached settlements on the Wabash, and some of the streams entering the west bank, and detached ones on the Ohio. Those on the Illinois are small, insulated and sometimes 50 miles apart. The American and Turky hill settlements, between the Illinois and Wood rivers, are flourishing; the inhabitants are mostly from Kentucky and the southern states.

NATURAL CURIOSITIES, ANTIQUITIES.

The "Cave-in-Rock," nineteen miles below Saline, has been often visited and described by travelers. The entrance into this cave is of a semicircular form, twenty feet above the ordinary level of the river, in a perpendicular rock, thirty feet high. A few yards from the mouth you enter a spacious room, sixty paces in length, and nearly as wide. Near the centre of the roof is an aperture resembling the funnel of a chimney, which, according to Ash, the British traveler, leads to an upper room, "not unlike a Gothic Cathedral." At one end of this vault, our traveler found an opening, which served as a descent to another vault, of very great depth, as he judged, since "a stone cast in, whose reverbration was not returned for the space of several seconds." Our adventurer, who is always full of the marvelous, found the remains of several human skeletons, in this "drear abode;" while searching for others, he got bewildered, and was unable to find the place of his descent. He fired his pistol, as a signal of distress—its effect was "terrific"—its report "tremendous." "No thunder could exceed the explosion, no echo return so strong a voice!"[1] Mason's gang of robbers made this cave their principal rendezvous, in 1797, where they frequently plundered or murdered the crews of boats descending the Ohio.

The Battery Rocks, so called from their resemblance to a range of forts and batteries, are noticed by travelers, as a natural curiosity. They are nothing more than the perpendicular bank of the river, seven miles above the Cave-in-Rock. The Devil's Oven is situated upon an elevated rocky point, projecting into the Mississippi, fifteen miles below the mouth of Au Vase. It has a close resemblance to an oven. On the large prairies are frequently found sink-holes, some of which are 150 feet across, circular at the top, gradually narrowing to the bottom, and frequently so steep as to make the descent difficult. At the bottom, the traveler finds a handsome subterranean brook, in which he can conveniently allay his thirst. These sinks have, doubtless, been formed by the waters' undermining the earth, the weight of which produces successive excavations.

Ancient fortifications and mounds, similar to those found in Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana, are also met with in Illinois. Four miles above the Prairie du Rochers, are the ruins of Fort Chartres, built by the French, at the expense of one hundred thousand dollars. At the period of its construction, it was one quarter of a mile from the river, but at present is nearly undermined by the Mississippi. Fort Massac, forty-five miles above the mouth of the Ohio, built by the French about the middle of the last century, and occupied by the Americans for many years after the close of the revolutionary war, is at present dismantled.

ANIMALS, BIRDS, FISH, SERPENTS.

The buffaloe, which formerly roamed at will, and in vast numbers, through the immense prairies of Illinois, have lately disappeared, preferring the more distant plains of the Missouri. Deer, elk, bear, wolves, foxes, oposum and raccoon, remain in considerable numbers. (The inhabitants of a fine breed of horses from the Spanish stock.) Their cattle have a lively and sleek appearance. Hogs are easily raised.

Wild turkies abound in the hilly districts. Quails are plenty; pheasants, scarce. Greese and ducks frequent the ponds, lakes and rivers, particularly the head branches of the Illinois, and small lakes towards Lake Michigan, whither they are attracted in prodigious numbers, in quest of the wild rice, which furnishes an abundant and favorite ailment. Buzzards, pigeons, black birds, paroquets and several species of hawks, abound in the same numbers, as in other parts of the western country.

Most kinds of fish which are found in the Mississippi and the great norther lakes, frequent the rivers of this territory. Sturgeon are found in Peoria or Illinois lake.

The only venomous serpents, are the common and prairie rattlesnakes, and copper-heads.

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[1] See Ash's Travels, page 234.

INDIANS.

The Sacs or Saukies, inhabit the country bordering on Sand Bay and Rocky rivers—they have three villages. A part of this tribe reside on the west side of the Mississippi. Pike give the total number of souls at 2,850. Four miles below Sand Bay, the U. S. had an agricultural establishment, under the direction of a Mr. Ewing. It did not succeed, because these Indians hold labor in the greatest contempt. The Kaskaskias, Cahokias and Peorias, are remnants of formidable tribes. They have been nearly annihilated in their wars with the Saukies and Foxes, originally provoked by the assassination of the Saukie chief Pontiac. They are reduced to 250 warriors—reside principally between the Kaskaskia and Illinois. The Delewares and Shawanese have a summer residence four miles below Au Vase river. The Piankashaws and Mascontins mostly inhabit the Mascontin, Tortue and Rejoicing branches of the Wabash; their total number of souls about 600.

AGRICULTURE PRODUCTS.

Corn is at present the staple—no country produces finer. The traveler often meets with cornfields containing from 100 to 1,000 acres, these are cultivated in common by the people of a whole village or a settlement. By this method the inhabitants obviate the expense of division fences, where it would be necessary to haul timber several miles to the centre of a vast prairie. Cotton is raised for domestic use. There is no doubt, that ultimately, considerable quantities will be produced for exportation. Tobacco grows to great perfection. Wheat does well, when properly managed, except on the bottoms where the soil is too rich. Flax, hemp, oats, Irish and sweet potatoes do as well as in Kentucky. Notwithstanding the abundance of wild grapes to be found in the forests, it is very doubtful, I think, whether the French inhabitants ever made 80 hogsheads of good wine, in any single year. The successful experiment at Vevay, in Indiana, warrants the belief that vineyards, at no remote period, will embellish the hills of the southern half of this territory.

MANUFACTURERS.

These are all of the domestic kind. In 1810, according to the Marshall's returns, there were:

Spinning wheels	630
Looms	460
Cloth produced, (yards)	90,039
Value, (dollars)	90,028
Tanneries	9
Value of leather dressed	7,750
Distilleries	19
Produced (gallons) 102,000	7,500
Flour, 6,440 barrels—value (dollars)	32,200
Maple sugar, 15,600 lbs.—value (dollars)	1,980

The population has nearly doubled since that period, and the manufactures have advanced in a corresponding ratio.

MILITARY BOUNTY LANDS.

The lands in this territory appropriated to reward the valor of our soldiers, during the late war, amount to 3,500,000 acres. This tract lies on the north bank of the Illinois, near its junction with the Missippi. It has never been particularly described. Mr. Tiffin, commissioner of the general land office, declares it to be of the first quality. A gentleman, high in office in that territory, writes: "I have never been on the north side of the Illinois river, but my information authorizes me to say, that it is a very good country." Another correspondent writes: "This tract is of good quality, and desirable to settlers, it is inferior to none of the public lands of the United States." The U. S. are now engaged in surveying them. They are watered by several respectable streams, and are advantageously situated, either for the lake or Orleans trade, having the Mississippi west; Illinois south; Mine river east; and lands belonging to the Sac and Fox Indians, north. The growth of vegetation is so luxuriant that the surveyors can make no progress in summer.

LANDS, TITLES, PRICES.

The public lands have rarely sold for more than $5.00 per acre, at auction. Those sold at Edwardsville in October, 1816, averaged $4.00. Private sales at the land office, are fixed by law, at $2.00 per acre. The old French locations command various prices from $1.00 to $50.00. Titles derived from the United States government are always valid, and those from individuals rarely false.

There are upwards of sixteen milions of acres belonging to the United States, obtained at different cessions from the Indians, and consequently a wide field open for purchase and selection.

The lands belonging to the aboriginal proprietors lie principally between the Wabash and the Illinois, north of the head of the Kaskaskia. They have large reservations north of the Illinois, upon Rocky river, Sagamond, etc. The United States have obtained a cession of six miles square at the east end of Peoria lake, north of the Illinois river.

FUTURE POPULATION.

The territorial population being at this moment 20,000 souls, and the ratio of increase thirty per cent per annum, it will require ten years to give Illinois the necessary qualifications for being admitted into the Union. It is capable of sustaining a denser population than New York, and contains nearly as many acres. Comparatively speaking, there are no waste lands. It would, therefore, allowing twenty souls to the square mile, conveniently sustain a population of 1,000,000. But on the ratio of fifty-four square miles, which was that of Connecticut, at the census of 1810, it would contain, in time, 2,600,000.

EXTENT OF NAVIGABLE WATERS.

Nature has been peculiarly bountiful to Illinois, for not only has she blessed this favored region with a temperate climate, and highly productive soil, but has prepared convenient channels of communication, for the transportation of products to market, and to facilitate settlement and internal intercourse. The Illinois, which hitherto has been little navigated, except by the Northwest company's boats, must in a few years become the theatre of an active commerce. American enterprise will force its way thither. The tide of navigation, like water, will overspread the fine vallies of Illinois, Mine and Demi-Quain. A trifling expense, comparatively to the importance of the undertaking, will unite the Illinois to the Chicago in all seasons of the year. Then the lead of Missouri, and the cotton of Tennessee will find their way to Detroit and Buffalo. The following rough estimate, which does not exceed the actual distance, will enable uninformed readers to form a pretty correct idea of the extent of frontier and internal navigation, for boats, which the future State of Illinois will enjoy.

FRONTIER NAVIGATION.

	Miles.
Wabash	240
Ohio	164
Mississippi	620
	1,024

INTERNAL NAVIGATION.

	Miles.
Illinois, navigable	320
Tributaries from the N. W.	550
Ditto, from the S. E.	200
Kaskaskia, and branches	300
Tributaries of the Wabash	500
Minor rivers, such as Au Vase, Marie, Cash, etc.	200
Internal	2,070
Frontier	1,024
Total	3,094

The distance by water, from the mouth of the Illinois to New Orleans, is 1,174 miles, and to Buffalo, through the lakes, 1,400.

EMIGRATION.

[Taken from Illinois Monthly Magazine, Vol. I., Edited by James Hall, Vandalia, 1831, pages 417-423.]

James Hall. The editor of the Illinois Monthly Magazine, James Hall, was a prominent man of letters in the first half of last century, although the pursuit of literature was but an incident in his busy life. He was born in Philadelphia, August 19, 1793; and during his early days was surrounded with the influences of a family engaged in literary and educational pursuits. The law was his chosen profession, but this he abandoned for a time to enter the army as a volunteer in the war of 1812. He saw hard service and was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 2d U. S. artillery. After the war he accompanied Decatur to Algiers.

In 1818 he resigned from the army and was admitted to the Illinois bar and opened an office in Shawneetown in 1820. His advance in his profession was rapid and he was shortly appointed judge of the circuit court. In 1827 he removed to Vandalia where he held the office of State Treasurer.

From the first he devoted a portion of his time to literary pursuits. While at Shawneetown he was editor of the Illinois Gazette, and after his removal to Vandalia, he edited the Illinois Intelligencer and in 1831 the Illinois Monthly Magazine. The latter had but a short life, for James Hall moved in 1835 to Cincinnati to become cashier of the Commercial bank and later its president. The name of the Illinois Monthly Magazine was now changed to that of the Western Monthly Magazine. Besides his editorial work, he wrote many books on western history, which have preserved many facts and traditions. He died July 5, 1868.]

We have heard lately of several colonies which have been formed in the eastern states, for the purpose of emigrating to Illinois; and always hear such information with regret. Not that we have any objection to emigration in itself; on the contrary few have done more than we, to encourage and promote it. We ardently long to see the fertile plains of Illinois covered with an industrious, an enterprising, and an intelligent population; we shall always be among the first to welcome the farmer, the mechanic, the school teacher, the working man, in short, of any trade, mystery or profession, and we care not from what point of the compass he may come. With the unrivaled natural advantages presented by our state, we need nothing but human ingenuity and labor, directed by a wholesome moral sentiment, in order to assume the first rank among our sister republics; and every patriotic man is bound to lend his aid, to accelerate by all proper means the consumation of the greatness of his country. Our objection lies to the plan of colonization, fraught as it is in our opinion, with evil to the country, and to those who adopt it. We shall endeavor to explain our views on this subject, abstractly, without any reference to individuals who may differ from us in opinion or who may have engaged in schemes at variance with our sentiments.

So far as our personal observation has extended, emigrating societies have not been successful in the western country; and it will not be difficult to show that such associations are generally injudicious. When composed of foreigners, they have almost uniformly failed; while individuals and families, who have come untrammelled by such connections, have generally prospered in proportion to their means and their industry. We would set down the following, as some of the operating causes of these results. Foreigners who emigrate, must leave behind them all their prejudices, and many of their customs; the former would be odious to their new neighbors , and the latter inappropriate to their newly adopted situation. Their language, their feelings, their habits, are so many trammels, that must be shaken off. They must not only conform to the laws of the country to which they go, but must adapt their labors, and mode of living, to the exigencies of a state of society which is novel to them. A farmer from England, France or Germany, finds his agricultural skill of little avail in Illinois, and the only plan by which he can succeed, is to forget his own husbandry, and adopt that of his new neighbors. When such persons come in societies, they associate too much with each other, and too little with the other residents of the country, and thus deprive themselves of the opportunity of profiting by the example of older settlers. The very object of forming a society of this description, is, that its members shall mutually aid each other in their business, and form a circle for the purposes of social intercourse. In this manner they preserve their own language and instead of having their prejudices and customs worn off by collision with the people of the country, they keep alive those very customs and prejudices, by the countenance and encouragement which they afford to each other, and even feel a pride in retaining this distinctive character. Their settlement gets a name—it is called the Dutch, or the English settlement—they lay off a village, and call it after the place of their nativity, and become attached to every little vestige of their nationality, which recalls their early homes. The difference of character between themselves and the people around them, creates of itself a line which for a time would keep them asunder but they have adopted a plan by which that imaginary line is distinctly traced out, marked, and published. Their neighbors view them with jealousy and distrust—for every society or combination of men, which is exclusive in its character, excites these feelings. The new comers have every thing to lose, and nothing to gain, from a state of rivalry and ill will with their neighbors; but such feelings will invariably be created by any set of people who emigrate in large bodies, and attempt to organize a community of their own, in the bosom of a settled country. They remain ignorant of all they ought to learn, adhere tenaciously to their own habits, repel the advice, hospitality and aid, of those who came before them, and are reduced to beggary before they learn that their mode of cultivation is wrong, their manners unpopular, and their prejudices unwise. They then dissolve their bonds of union, scatter themselves over the country in which they live. From these observations the Harmonites form the only exception within our knowledge; but they form also an exception from all general rules.

If what we have said, is true in reference to foreigners, it is not less so in relation to people emigrating from their older states. It will be easily seen that they too, have their peculiarities, though they may not be so strongly marked; and that a company of New Englanders or Virginians, removing into a new country, and settling as such, will be less welcome, and less prosperous, than the same number of persons, coming separately, and dropping all local distinctions. Although they speak our language, and have been accustomed to the same general system of civil government with ourselves, there are a number of points of minor importance, but which are intimately interwoven with the business of life, and the happiness of social intercourse, in which they differ from us materially. It is worthy of remark, that parties, and party dissentions, do not always grow out of differences of opinion about important matters, but more frequently arise out of the veriest trifles; and the reason for this, may perhaps be, that men may be induced to reflect and to act rationally, about matters of moment, while those little peculiarities of belief or practice which are non-essential, are not submitted to the test of reason, yet are tenaciously adhered to on one side, and contemptuously spurned on the other.

Many persons who emigrate from older to younger states, set out with the spirit of reformers; and aware of the superior advantages which they have enjoyed, and of the higher degree of civilization and improvement to which they have been accustomed, fondly imagine that they can easily transplant these to their new places of residence. One thing is forgotten; if any improvement which is proposed to be introduced is new to the western people, they must first be convinced of its value before they will consent to adopt it, and such conviction can only be produced by persons who have conciliated their kindness, and won their confidence. People do not, in general adopt the sentiments of those to whom they are hostile, nor will they learn much from any except those with whom they live on terms of amicable intercourse. When a company of people therefore, set down in a country in such a way as to excite unpleasant feelings in those around them, they will not be apt to exert any salutary influence upon their neighbors. There is an appearance of arrogance in the conduct of those who settle in the heart of a civilized community of their own countrymen, but yet in a new country to them, and bring with them their own society, their own mechanics, their own customs, and affect a kind of independence of the civil community already organized. If a colony of backwoodsmen should settle in Massachusetts, and resolutely determine to raise nothing but corn and tobacco, to wear blanket coats and leggins, and to make stump speeches, there would be a sad outcry about it, yet they would do no greater violence to the feelings of that people, than a colony coming from the east, who should pertinaciously resolve upon planting all their own customs among us, would do to ours.

We desire not to be understood, as throwing out, in the above remarks, any sneer at those patriotic individuals, or institutions, in the older states, through whose exertions such noble streams of benevolence have been poured into our country. Our known sentiments, as expressed on many occasions, must redeem us from being thus misconceived. We honor every man who from patriotic or christian principles, endeavors to improve the condition of his country, or species. We know that there are thousands beyond the mountains, who consider our great valley as destined to become the center of population and power, and who see the policy of planting literature, science, morality and religion here, as in the future heart of the republic. Our remarks are addressed to individuals, in reference to their personal comfort, prosperity, and influence. We wish to see them come to Illinois, with a manly confidence in us, and with the feelings, not of New Englanders, or Pennsylvanians, but Americans. The bane of society and improvement in a new country is found in those sectional distinctions, which keep men asunder and create parties—by which the best men in our country are thrown into hostile ranks, and prevented from acting together for the common good. No one cause contributes so much, in our opinion, to keep alive such jealousies, as the imprudence of emigrants in adhering to those very distinctions which mark them as strangers, instead of sacrificing every peculiarity, which is non-essential, to the promotion of harmony.

Especially is it unnecessary for mechanics, and wealthy farmers, to come thus in herds. The farmer who brings with him the means to purchase and stock a farm, is the most independent man in our country. Nature is so prolific here, that a man thus provided, may securely calculate upon competence, and even abundance, with but little labor. Mechanics of all kinds are so much needed, as to be sure of a welcome reception, and profitable employment. They require no other associates but health, skill and industry.

If the object of any emigrant is to be useful to the country, by disseminating knowledge, piety, or any valuable art, and we know that there are many such, can they hope to accomplish that design by confining their labors and affections within the bounds of a circle of select friends? We apprehend not; and that such individuals especially, should throw aside every weight, cast off all the trammels that would embarrass them, and gain that kind of influence which springs from companionship and confidence.

But the fact is, that persons who emigrate to the west, have to learn from our people here, a vast deal more than they can possibly teach them. This is especially true in respect to farmers. Our climate, soil, and products are new to them, and they are obliged to remodel their whole system of agriculture, in order to adapt it to the circumstances in which they are placed. On their arrival here they will not find skillful mechanics, ready to build up their houses, and provide for all their wants. "But we will bring them," says the colonist; sir, you cannot bring them. You may bring your carpenters, your blacksmiths, and a few more, but the wants of human life are so numerous, that you would find yourself continually obliged to step out of your own circle of chosen associates, and to claim assistance from others. Your carpenters and blacksmiths would have their own houses to build, and their own wants to provide for, and you would have to shiver in the cold and starve, until their wants were supplied, their families fed, and their dwellings finished. In the mean while, the people around would be laughing in their sleeces at the ill-contrived, ill-managed, ill-sorted combination, which, though perfectly ignorant and helpless, in regard to all practical and useful knowledge in relation to the getting of a livelihood, yet affected a kind of independence.

The truth is that the man who removes into a strange country with the intention of making it his home, should determine to abandon at once his predelictions, prejudices and local attachments, and conform himself without reserve to the customs of the land of his adoption. Instead of bringing society with him, he should cultivate the intimacy of the inhabitants, and by imbibing their feelings and sentiments learn to relish their society. Those who come here with minds predisposed against us, who have already resolved in their own hearts that they cannot find suitable associates, in this country, will be always "strangers in a far land." They will never feel at home in Illinois. We feel proud when we see a young man strolling into our State, on foot, with one shirt on his back and another in his pocket. He brings neither money, nor friends, but expects to find both here. That man intends to stay. He will soon forget when he speaks of home, to turn his face to the east. He will not give as a reason for every opinion that he advances, "we do so in Connecticut," "we say so in Massachusetts," but will discover that he has a great deal to learn from backwoodsmen, and that our own manners and customs may in many cases be best suited to our circumstances. Such a man is of more value to the country, than any colony which ingenuity can devise. He throws himself into the bosom of our society—adopts it, for better and for worse, and soon loses all perception of any difference between it and that to which he has been accustomed; while their whole enterprise is founded on distrust, and local prejudice.

There are other objections to this kind of social system, which will strike every reflecting mind. One man will be industrious and another indolent—one peaceful, another litigious—one honest, another dishonest; and however guarded may be their bond of union, there must exist to a certain extent, a joint interest and responsibility, and the whole community will be affected, more or less, by the misdeeds, or misfortunes, of each of its members. However, much therefore, any man may fancy that he multiplies the chances of success, and the sources of leizure, by bringing his friends with him, he certainly increases, in at least an equal ratio the chances of failure, and the sources of unhappiness. An individual knows how to make calculations for himself, and his own household he knows what they can do and suffer; but he ventures into the regions of conjecture, and brings many contingencies to bear on his fate, when he unites it with the uncertain fortunes of others. Men were not made for such confederacies; they are too narrow for patriotic feeling and christian benevolence, too wide for domestic security and comfort. They are built on a wrong basis. A man has one set of affections and responsibilities for his own fireside, another for his country and human nature. These are natural, and whatever, is attempted to be compounded out of them, and aside from them, is artificial. The ordinary ties of kindred country, neighborhood and benevolence, are strong enough, without forming those artificial confederacies which sooner or later always crumble into their original elements. The industrious member of such a society gets tired of helping his lazy neighbor, the peaceable man grows sick of the quarrels of his litigious friend, and the whole society feels degraded if one of its members happens to fall into the hands of the sheriff for an unlucky felony. After all every one is the best manager of his own business, and the best judge of what is good for his own family; and he who emigrates will consult his own happiness and interest, by trusting to Providence, to his own exertions, and to the hospitality of those among whom his lot may be cast.

PART V.

In Memoriam.

Members Illinois State Historical Society, deceased, January, 1907 to January, 1908.

Robert Bell,
Eliza Kincaid Wilson,
William Vocke,
John Berry Orendorff,
David McCulloch,
James B. Bradwell,
A. R. Coulter,
L. H. Kerrick,
Peyton Roberts,
Mary A. Cheney Marmon.

ROBERT BELL.

ROBERT BELL, 1828-1906.

Judge Robert Bell, Mt. Carmel's most widely known citizen, passed away at 7:25 Sunday evening, Sept. 30, 1906, at the home of his son, Mr. Collins S. Bell, after a brief illness of heart trouble. But slight mention had been made of Judge Bell's illness, and the news of his demise came in the nature of a surprise and shock to the majority of the people of the city. He had been able to be about during the day Sunday, but in the evening suddenly complained of feeling worse. He was assisted to his bed and in a few moments his life had passed away.

Robert Bell was the son of General Hiram Bell, who came to this state from Virginia in 1818, and who held the office of circuit clerk of Wabash county continuously from 1824 to 1860. The son, Robert Bell was born in Lawrence county, Illinois in 1828. After receiving his education in the schools and the Indiāna state university he studied law with his brother Victor B. Bell, a prominent lawyer of that time, and embarked upon a career in law and politics which made him for a period of many years one of the foremost citizens of southern Illinois. He commenced practice in Fairfield in 1855, but in 1857 returned to Mt. Carmel, and in 1864 formed a partnership with Judge E. B. Green, then a rising young attorney. Their association continued for a third of a century, and Bell and Green were known everywhere as one of the strong law firms of the State.

Judge Bell was originally a Democrat, but when the war came on his union sentiment led him into the Republican party, with which he affiliated until his death, being for many years one of its leading members in this portion of the State. In 1869 he was appointed county judge to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge T. J. Buchanan. From 1868 to 1872 he was a member of the Republican State Central Committee and in 1878 was the candidate of his party for Congress in the Nineteenth District. In 1879 he was sent to California by the treasury department to investigate alleged frauds, and in 1881 President Garfield appointed him special commissioner to examine into railroad matters in the far west. He was on intimate terms with the leading politicians of the country, and was a close friend of General John A. Logan, who, had he lived, would no doubt have conferred much higher favors upon him. For the past several years he had been serving as city attorney for the city of Mt. Carmel, having been three times elected to that position in spite of the strongest opposition. His death created a vacancy in the office.

Judge Bell was married November 17, 1858 to Miss Sarah E. Shepard, in Madison, Conn. She was a woman of great brilliance and until her death in August, 1903, she played a leading part in the intellectual life of Mt. Carmel. Nine children were born to Judge and Mrs. Bell, of whom only two, Mrs. J. D. Beemer and Mr. Collins S. Bell, an engineer on the Cairo division, now survive. Two sisters are living, Mrs. R. B. Cravath of Denver and Mrs. Pillsbury of Fremont, Neb.

Mt. Carmel never possessed a more progressive citizen, and he was always an enthusiastic supporter of every public enterprise, being generous both as to time and means. He did much to secure the building of the Cairo division, and as president of the old air line, now the southern, succeeded in having the line extended from Princeton to Albion. Bellmont was named after him, and Maud takes its name from one of his daughters, who died in 1880.

As an orator Judge Bell enjoyed almost a national reputation, and many of his word pictures have become classics, rivaling the best efforts of the most noted writers and speakers.

In disposition he was one of the most generous of men. He had a good word for every one and made friends of all with whom he came in contact. He was kind to the poor in his days of prosperity, and many have cause to remember him with gratitude. In losing him, Mt. Carmel loses a man whose memory is inseparably associated with its growth. Its progress was his pride, and its sincere advocate he always was.

The funeral was held from the residence and the services were conducted by Rev. G. J. E. Richards, and was under the auspices of the Masonic fraternity, of which Judge Bell was almost a life long member. The interment was in Rose Hill cemetery.

MRS. ELIZA KINCAID WILSON,

AN HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Born at Sharpsburg, Ky., May 13, 1813; died at Sterling, Ill., March 5, 1907.

Mrs. Eliza J. Wilson, widow of Colonel Robert L. Wilson, passed away at her home in Sterling, Illinois, March 5, 1907. Dissolution came quietly and peacefully and the aged lady fell asleep, her death was as beautiful and calm as was her life. For many years she enjoyed splendid health, although for the past ten years she spent the greater portion of her time at the home where she had resided for over a half a century.

The funeral services were held at the historic Wilson home. The sermon was preached by Rev. Charles Gorman Richards of the Presbyterian church and the remains were laid away in the Wilson vault in Riverside cemetery beside those of the husband.

Eliza J. Kincaid was a daughter of Scotch-Irish parents, and she was born May 13, 1813, at Sharpsburg, Ky., where she grew to womanhood. She attended the school of that place and on March 28, 1833, she was married to Robert L. Wilson, and immediately after the marriage they moved to Indian Point, Sangamon county, now Menard county, Illinois. At that time Mr. and Mrs. Wilson were among the pioneer settlers of Illinois. They became fast friends of Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Wilson served in the State Legislature with Lincoln and was a member of the famous "Long Nine" who went to the Legislature for the purpose of moving the capital of Illinois from Vandalia to Springfield, and this they accomplished. In order to accomplish this great task, it was necessary for the seven representatives and the two senators to make combinations and they succeeded. They participated in the famous "internal improvement" act of Illinois. When Mr. Lincoln made his famous campaign for the Legislature in 1836, he became the fast friend of Mr. and Mrs. Wilson. Lincoln not being possessed of a great amount of this world's goods at the time, borrowed Mrs. Wilson's saddle horse and rode it over Sangamon county during that famous campaign electioneering, making speeches from the saddle, and at the conclusion of the fight he returned the horse to Mrs. Wilson. On scores of occasions Mr. Lincoln was entertained at the Wilson home in Sangamon county.

As elsewhere stated in this article, Mr. Wilson moved to Sterling in 1840, and in 1846 in March they moved into the present quaint and now historic home. It was through the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Wilson that Abraham Lincoln was induced to go to Sterling to deliver a speech in the famous campaign of 1856, the historic spot being now marked by a bowlder on the Sterling school grounds.

Mrs. Wilson was making elaborate preparations to entertain the distinguished speaker, but four days before Lincoln arrived here she met with an accident resulting in a severe injury to her neck. For eleven months she was confined to her bed, hovering between life and death. Nature alone was relied upon, and while she was bed-fast the muscles and cords of the neck became almost like iron and when she finally recovered nature performed its work hardening the muscles and tissues, and after that time her neck was rigid.

History has it that Mrs. Wilson entertained Lincoln at her home here in 1856, but this was not done on account of the serious illness of the lady. When Mrs. Wilson was seventy years of age she journeyed to Clarke, South Dakota, where she took and proved a soldier's widow's claim, going months without seeing a woman and days without looking upon a human being.

When Mr. Wilson was appointed paymaster in the army Mrs. Wilson remained here the greater portion of the time, although she visited him at St. Louis and Nashville. Mrs. Wilson's life, it will be seen, circled around the home she loved so dearly.

To mourn the death of this illustrious woman, two children, ten grandchildren and three great grandchildren are left, a worthy legacy. To Mr. and Mrs. Wilson six children were born, they being Mary Jane, who died in childhood; Silas R., who passed away in 1870; Dr. Anne W. Nixon, Mrs. Emma W. Edwards, both of Los Angeles, Cal.; Robert H., who died at Nashville, Tenn., and Lee, who died at the age of sixteen years. Dr. Nixon, her daughter, came from California in 1905 to remain with her mother during the remainder of her life. Anne E. Edwards, a granddaughter, has been here for the past week, constantly at the bedside of the aged lady.

The State Historical Society at its last annual meeting took cognizance of Mrs. Wilson and she became an honorary member of the society, together with Senator Cullom, Jane Addams and others.

The passing of this venerable woman closes an epoch for Sterling in several phases. She was the last representative of the men and women who marched into the wilderness of the west and through their efforts and those who followed in their footsteps, made the desert into a garden and the wild places tame, subject to the dominion of men. She came a mother—at the head of a family, and took her place as a member of the community—one of the workers at once.

As has been said, Robert L. Wilson and Eliza J. Kincaid were united in marriage at Sharpsburg, Ky., on March 28, 1833, and in the autumn of the same year they emigrated to Illinois where they established their home in Sangamon county where they made their home for six years. During this time the husband came into prominence and served his county in the State Legislature for two terms. He was contemporary with Lincoln and other great Illinoisans of his day and lived to see the greater part of his old friends gathered into their last homes beneath the sod in the State they had served so well. The Kincaid family followed the daughter and her husband from Kentucky to the young state and settled in Sangamon county where the seven children spent the remainder of their lives. All of these, save one, with their parents sleep there. The aged mother of Mrs. Wilson did not die until after she had seen her ninety-second birthday anniversary.

In 1840 Judge Brown offered Mr. Wilson the position of county clerk—an appointive office at the time—in either of several counties in the northern part of the State and Whiteside was chosen. Mr. Wilson came to Sterling in that year and in the year following his family arrived. For twenty years Mr. Wilson was the county clerk, and he was also the registrar of deeds for sixteen years and probate judge for eight years. Nearly all of the documents relating to the transfer of lands in the twenty years that followed the settlement of the Wilson family in the county bear his signature in some official capacity.

During these years the Wilson home was almost an open house and the fame of its hospitality spread throughout the northern part of the State. It was in 1846 that the brick house in which she spent the remaining sixty-one years of her life was built on the prairie north of the straggling village that stretched along the banks of Rock river. As befitted the most prominent citizen, it was the most pretentious house in the community and it stands today almost as it was when it was first erected. Much of the material in it was brought from Chicago by teams, for it was not until nine years had elapsed after its building that the first train steamed into Sterling.

When the Presbyterian church of Sterling was organized in November, 1844, Mrs. Wilson was one of the charter members, and is the last of that devoted nine to answer the call of the Master of life. In all the many years that followed she was devoted to her church, and even after the weight of years had pressed heavily upon her, was regular in her attendance at all of the services of her church. Mrs. Maria Galt was for many years the only other of this little band that kept company with her sister in the faith, but she passed into the shadow nine years ago past ninety years of age.

Mrs. Wilson had the manner of the grand dames of the southland and the warmth and cordial hospitality for which the chivalrous people of Kentucky have been noted. Her tall figure was the personification of dignity and the warmth of her smile won all who came in contact with her even to the end of her days. She was one of the finest types of the women of her day and of the section of the country in which she was born. She was a deeply religious woman all of the days of her life and up to the time when she was stricken with the weakness that came by reason of her great age, was active in the work for all mission effort, both at home and abroad.

Those who knew her in her prime remember her for many graces as a hostess and the open generosity and ready sympathy of her kindly nature. She held her friends with bands as strong as steel, and in the years since she has been unable to leave her home, old and young who had come to love her were frequent callers at the low brick mansion which for sixty-one years she has called her home.

Many will regret her passing, but none can say that she has not filled her place in life to the fullest. On march 7, 1880, she was widowed, and her obsequies were held one day previous to the twenty-seventh anniversary of that event.

WILLIAM VOCKE.

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Born in Minden, Westphalia, Germany, April 4, 1839; died in Chicago, May 13, 1907.

Captain Vocke was born in Minden, Westphalia, Germany, on April 4, 1839, and landed in New York in 1856. A year later he settled in Chicago and obtained employment as a newspaper carrier. When the civil war broke out he enlisted as a private in the Twenty-fourth Illinois Infantry and was mustered out of the service at the close of the war as captain of Company K.

Subsequently he became city editor and then editorial writer on the Staats-Zeitung. In 1865 he was made clerk of the police court, and during his four years' service studied law and was admitted to practice. In 1870 he was elected a member of the Legislature, previous to which time he had been a member of the board of education. Captain Vocke was an active Republican and one of the leading German campaign orators.

Despite the fact that his later years were taken up mostly with the practice of law, he kept in close touch with literary men and affairs, and was noted as a writer of historical sketches, especially those pertaining to the doings of the Loyal Legion, with which he was identified.

As a member of the Legislature he was the author of the "Burnt Record Law." Under it those who lost deeds to property through the great fire of 1871 were privileged to establish proof of their holdings and after a term of years this proof became conclusive and then full title was given by the court.

Captain Vocke lost all his possessions in the fire, but later accumulated considerable wealth. At the time of his death he owned a large tract near Chicago Heights and also other property in Cook county.

He was married in 1867. The surviving members of the family are Mrs. Elizabeth Wahl Vocke, his widow; four daughters and two sons. They are Mrs. Olivia Bopp, wife of Franz Bopp, German Consul at San Francisco; Mrs. Fredia Doak, wife of D. P. Doak, president of the Pan-American railway of Klamath Falls, Oregon; Mrs. Elsa McMynn, wife of John C. McMynn of Chicago; Mrs. Bella Bird, wife of T. A. Bird, a newspaper man of Chicago; Fred Vocke of Chicago, and William Vocke of Oklahoma.

JOHN BERRY ORENDORFF.

John Berry Orendorff was born in Blooming Grove, May 3, 1827. His father was Thomas Orendorff, one of the first settlers of Blooming Grove, who came in 1823, the next year after the very few first families arrived. Mr. Thomas Orendorff was one of the leading men of the new county of McLean, having been selected in 1830 to go to Vandalia to secure the passage of the special act for the organization of McLean county.

Mr. John Berry Orendorff was vice president of the McLean County Historical Society for the last six years of his life. He took a very deep interest in local history, wrote articles for the society himself, and assisted many other writers to acquire an accurate knowledge of pioneer times.

He was one of the first members of the Illinois State Historical Society and was deeply interested in its welfare. He was a cousin of General Alfred Orendorff, the president of our society. He died in August, 1907, at the age of eighty years.

JAMES B. BRADWELL,

AN HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Born in Loughborough, England, April 16, 1828; died Chicago, Ill., Nov. 30, 1907.

James B. Bradwell was born April 16, 1828, at Loughborough, England, and came to this country with his parents when he was two years old. The family first settled at Utica, N. Y., and three years later started for the Illinois frontier. They remained for a short time at Jacksonville, Ill., and then came to Chicago, then a mere frontier military and trading post. Judge Bradwell often recited the tale of the journey and the first entrance to Chicago.

"Our journey from Jacksonville was made in a prairie schooner drawn by two horses and two oxen," he was wont to begin. "Though we traveled every hour, sleeping in the wagon, we were twenty-one days en route. The spring was late, the trail was all mud, and the prairies were mostly under water. It was May 20 when we arrived in Chicago and made our camp on the lake shore at what is now Randolph street."

The Bradwells located at Wheeling, near the Desplaines river, and took up a claim of government land. Often Judge Bradwell has described his boyhood days and the difficulties of frontier life.

"Wolves would howl outside the log cabin during the winter. We had hard work to keep from starving. Once the presiding elder of the district came to beg some provisions. We had none to give him. I was only a small boy, but believed in the efficacy of prayer. There were two prairie chickens on the fence near the house. I prayed that I might kill them both with one shot, promising to give the fattest to the minister. The prayer was answered, and the elder was a long time picking out the fattest bird."

"Once a band of drunken Indians attempted to break into our cabin. My father armed himself with his rifle, my mother with a shotgun, and I had a redhot poker. Just as the door gave way an interpreter appeared and prevented bloodshed. I never pass an Indian cigar sign that I don't feel resentment."

When he had reached the age of sixteen he came to Chicago. Shipbuilding and blacksmithing occupied his efforts until he entered Knox college at Galesburg, where he took the full college course. Then he went to Belvidere to study law and teach school. He was admitted to the bar in 1854 and began legal practice. Two years before that date he married Miss Myra Colby, who lived in Schaumberg township. In 1861 he was elected county judge with jurisdiction in all probate cases.

It was during his term as judge that the civil war broke out, and in connection with the "great rebellion" many thrilling stories of Judge Bradwell's loyalty and devotion to the union cause are told.

Illinois swarmed with secessionists and "copperheads." Judge Bradwell daringly organized the Home Defense Association, the only officer, the only member. Whenever he heard of a "copperhead" the Judge wrote him in the association's name, signing himself secretary, commanding the man to come to take the oath of allegiance. A prominent merchant, a personal friend, was summoned. He begged the Judge to state the penalty for refusing to swear.

"I have no idea what this powerful association will do with you," impressively replied the Judge. They may tar and feather you, they may burn your home or destroy your business. In any event your life and liberty are in peril if you decline to take the oath."

"But, Judge," said the merchant, "it will be a serious reflection on my character were it known that I was forced to come here and take the oath. Let me see some of the other officers and try to prevail on them to make me an exception."

"None of the officers," replied the Judge, "except the secretary of this association is ever known to the world, unless it is necessary to force its decrees. There is no choice but for you to take the oath or suffer the consequences."

The merchant, white with terror, held up his hand and was sworn.

During the war time he gained the reputation and title of which he always has been most proud, that of the "sweet singer of Cook county." Through his songs and impassioned addresses he gained many lukewarms over to the union cause.

After eight years on the bench Judge Bradwell returned to the practice of law and formed a partnership with Gen. John L. Beveridge, afterward Governor of Illinois. Gradually he yielded up his legal practice and profession to take up the larger questions of good citizenship in a rapidly growing city. He became a founder and president of the board of directors of the Union League Club, for several years president of the Chicago Bar Association, president of the Chicago Press Club, and he was president of the convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, which resulted in the American Woman Suffrage Society. Later he was elected president of the Illinois Bar Association in recognition of his legal attainments.

In his legal practice and works on law Judge Bradwell had the assistance of Mrs. Bradwell, herself a talented lawyer and the founder of the Chicago Legal News in 1868. Of this journal she was editor until her death in 1894, when Judge Bradwell succeeded her in the position and also became a publisher. In the work he had as assistant, his daughter, Mrs. Bessie Bradwell Helmer, a graduate of the Chicago high schools and the University of Chicago.

With the aid of his daughter Judge Bradwell edited and published the revised statutes of the State of Illinois and a number of volumes of the Illinois Appellate Court records. The edition is said to be one of the finest of which any state can boast. Judge Bradwell also served as a member of the State Legislature from 1873 to 1877.

PEYTON ROBERTS.

PEYTON ROBERTS.

In the long procession of men and women who have lived in the world for a time and passed on, there are some whose lives stand out like guiding stars for humanity ,and leave an impress for good that is ineradicable. They prove the worth of a life rightly lived. Peyton Roberts was one of these. He was distinguished for his nobility of character, his unblemished morality, his generous and kindly nature. He achieved success worthily and honorably, and entirely by his own efforts. His battle with the world was heroic. His conservative judgment, absolute integrity and unswerving honor in all things, won the respect and confidence of all with whom he came in contact, and formed the capital which made his business life a success. He was proud of being a native of Illinois, proud of having lived his whole life in the State, almost every acre of which he knew and loved.

The Roberts family were of Welsh ancestry, and left Wales in the fifteenth century because of religious persecution. They settled in Switzerland, where James Roberts, great grandfather of Peyton Roberts, was born in 1754. James and his brother John came to Wythe county, Virginia in 1775. John enlisted in the English army and was never heard of afterwards. James joined the Continental forces, and was wounded at the battle of King's Mountain, in 1780. He recovered, remained in the army, and was present at the surrender of Cornwalls at Yorktown. He married Nancy McKelvey, a native of Ireland, and their eldest son John was born in 1781. John lived in Campbell county, Tennessee, and there his eldest son, James Esmon, was born Aug. 28, 1807. The family moved to Breckenridge county, Kentucky, in 1827, and October 30, 1830, James E. was married to Sallie M. Cox, whose English ancestors settled in Switzerland in 1675, and came to Pennsylvania in 1712. John Roberts and his family, with the exception of the eldest son, moved to Fountain Green, Hancock county, Illinois, in June, 1835. James E. followed with his family in June, 1837. His children were Elbridge, Bainbridge, Addison, Adaline, Peyton, Chauncey and Elmore.

Peyton Roberts was born at Fountain Green, Hancock county, Illinois, January 21, 1839. His boyhood days were spent upon the farm, his evenings occupied in eagerly devouring every book he could secure. He attended school in the village of Tennessee, and in order to obtain money for a college education, learned the shoemaker's trade, at which he worked in the evenings and on Saturdays. When he had earned and saved six hundred dollars in gold, he entered Hedding College at Abingdon, Illinois. He made his home with the family of Henry Frey, and did the chores for his board. During his college course he secured the agency for a fire insurance company, and by soliciting business after school hours, and clerking on Saturdays, paid the entire expense of his education.

On January 4, 1864, he went to Monmouth and made that city his headquarters during the two years he acted as special agent for an insurance company. On April 3, 1866, he began a general insurance and loan business, opening an office on the south side of the square, which he occupied continuously for forty-two years, until the time of his death. His industry and ambition soon built up the largest business of its kind in western Illinois. To secure the agency of an insurance company was a difficult matter in those days, but with characteristic vim, Mr. Roberts went east and applied in person for a number of the strongest companies. Many of these remained with him throughout his life, making him the oldest agent in point of service in the State.

During his forty-four years residence in Monmouth, he was interested in and worked for every movement tending to the betterment and development of the city. He gave much time and energy to founding Monmouth Hospital and was its first president. He was one of the founders of the Second National Bank of Monmouth, and of the bank of Biggsville, and a stock holder in the former from the time of its organization until his death. He was a stock holder of the National Bank of the Republic of Chicago, of the Monmouth Mining and Manufacturing Company and the Monmouth Plow Company.

He was one of the active Republicans of the State, having served thirty years on the county central committee, and six years on the State Central Committee.

He was a devoted member of many of the secret orders and found much happiness in their work. He was made a member of the Masonic Order on April 11, 1864, by Abingdon (Illinois) Lodge No. 185, transferring his membership later to Lodge No. 37, A. F. & A. M., at Monmouth. He was also a member of Galesburg Commandery No. 8, Knights Templar, Medinah Temple Lodge of the Mystic Shrine of Chicago, Oriental Consistory of Chicago, Monmouth Lodge No. 577, I. O. O. F., Monmouth Lodge No. 397, B. P. O. E., Monmouth Lodge No. 277, O. E. S., and Maple City Lodge Knights of Pythias.

Mr. Roberts was known as the friend of the poor, the widow and the orphan, for scores of these went to him for assistance, and not one was turned away without being helped. Many of them placed their business affairs unrestrictedly in his hands, and although this meant much labor and oftentimes great expense to him, the work was always done gratis. His numberless acts of kindness and generosity will never be known except to those he helped. His sunny, happy disposition, his breadth of view, his keen intellect and wise judgment, were inherent in a man whose life was the gospel of brotherly love. One of his associates said of him: "I never saw Mr. Roberts discouraged or looking on the dark side of things. When business men would get together and deplore unsettled conditions and hard times, Mr. Roberts was always looking on the bright side. He was a continual inspiration to all of us."

Although prevented by ill-health from taking part in the civil war, Mr. Roberts was a close student of all matters relating to it, and possessed an extensive private library on that subject. He was familiar with the details of all the important battles and enjoyed visiting the battle fields, and recalling the scenes he knew by heart.

Peyton Roberts was married May 8, 1866, to Elizabeth Katherine Cox, and to them three children were born; Emily, the wife of Lee J. Hubble; and Corinne, the wife of C. L. Miller. The third daughter died in infancy. Mr. Roberts' love for and devotion to his family were the most beautiful traits of his character. Although he was as affectionate and tender as a child, he possessed the courage, strength and force which contribute to a fearless life. During the last few years of his life, although in rapidly failing health, he gave unremitting attention to business, often saying he wished to die "in harness." This wish was realized. On the evening of January 12, 1908, he returned from an absence of two weeks at Excelsion Springs, Missouri, for the benefit of his health. A large amount of mail had accumulated during his absence, which he took to his home. This he read through and arranged in the order in which he wished to take it up the next morning; then with a smile, he lay down upon his couch and passed into his last deep sleep, as sweetly and gently as he had lived. The funeral was held in the Presbyterian church on January 16, and was in charge of the Masonic brothers he loved so well. The following tribute is taken from the Monmouth Atlas of that date:

> The Maple City, fraternal brothers and scores of warm, personal friends paid their last tribute of love and respect to the memory of Peyton Roberts, one of Monmouth's foremost citizens.
>
> And this tribute to the dead was most fitting; it was typical of the man whom city, brothers and friends mourn today—quiet, simple and unostentatious, yet sincere and heartfelt. All that was mortal of a beloved man they consigned to the tomb, but in the citadel of everlasting friendship and honor his memory remains sacred.
>
> Seldom has the Maple City witnessed such tribute of sorrow as was paid the memory of her late resident this afternoon at the Presbyterian church, in the silent cortege which followed the body to the cemetery, and in the simple, but effective Masonic ritual with which the body was lowered into its last resting place—the tomb.
>
> Everywhere, in accordance with the wish of the family, which would have been the wish of the deceased himself, the utmost simplicity prevailed. The services at the church, conducted by Rev. D. E. Hughes, assisted by Dr. W. R. King, were simple in the extreme. Dr. Hughes referred with feeling to the life of the deceased, but briefly for the life of the departed needed no eulogy.
>
> ### FRATERNAL REPRESENTATION.
>
> And yet the scene at the church, and as the funeral cortege wended its way to the cemetery, was almost without parallel in the Maple City. The deceased had been a well known member of the Masons and other lodges. All were represented at the funeral.
>
> From Galesburg came a large delegation of Knights Templar in the full regalia of their rank. In this commandery Mr. Roberts had been an esteemed member. His home Masonic lodge, No. 37, was present en masse,

paying with sorrow the last tribute within its power. The Knights of Pythias and Elks, also mourning the deceased as a brother, were represented, as were the Eastern Stars, and other organizations of which Mr. Roberts had long been a member.

SERVICES AT THE GRAVE.

From the church at the close of the services the funeral party, composed of the family, scores of friends and the representatives of the different orders, wended its way to the cemetery. There the Masons were in full charge and the casket was consigned to the tomb with the beautiful Masonic service.

The pallbearers were all Masonic brothers and were Rufus Scott, Frank W. Harding, D. D. Dunkle, V. H. Webb, John S. Brown and Arnold Bruner.

MRS. W. M. MARMON.

Mrs. Mary Ann Cheney Marmon was among the very first to join the Illinois State Historical Society, and was very deeply interested in its welfare. She will be remembered by many who attended the State Society's session at Bloomington in 1904, as one of the ladies who assisted so generously in the local arrangements.

She came of pioneer ancestry on both the paternal and maternal sides. Her grandfather was John Wells Dawson who came to Bloomington in 1822 with the only other family of the country's first settlers. Mrs. Dawson's little daughter Maria, afterwards the mother of Mrs. Marmon, was a great favorite with the Indians of Blooming Grove and was often borrowed by the Indian squaws as a charming visitor at their wigwams. She lived with her daughter Mrs. Marmon for many of the last years of her life and died in 1906 at the age of eighty-nine years.

Mrs. Marmon's maiden name was Mary Ann Cheney and her father was Owen T. Cheney, son of Jonathan Cheney who came to McLean county in 1824, and from him the well known township of Cheney's Grove took its name. Mrs. Marmon was a lady of culture and refinement and contributed valuable articles on social life of pioneers for the McLean County Historical Society of which she was a charter member. She died Jan. 25, 1908.

CAPT. J. R. MOSS.

Capt. John Riley Moss died at the home of his son, Dr. Harry Moss, in Albion, Illinois, on the afternoon of October 2. He was born in Jefferson county, May 13, 1830, and had always made that county his home.

He was the son of Ransom and Annie Moss. A farmer by birth, he continued along the line of farming and stock raising for many years, and imported from Canada the first Cotswold sheep ever brought to this county. He delighted in raising fine stock, and when he lived on a farm he had fine Jersey cattle and Berkshire hogs. The farm on which Capt. Moss lived was in Shiloh township, and was the homestead first settled by ex-Governor Casey.

His home life was simple, but systematic. When he had a duty to perform it was performed, and performed well. He was married Jan. 30, 1853, to Parmelia C. Allen, and the marriage was blessed with six children, as follows: Angus, Norman H., Adda M., Anna E., Harry C., and Grace S. The children, with one exception survive him. He was preceded to the great beyond by his loving wife, who departed on the 16th of March, 1908. Fifty-five years of happy married life were enjoyed by Capt. Moss and his wife. They celebrated their golden wedding five years ago.

A more public-spirited man than Mr. Moss never lived in Jefferson county, and it was his desire to see Jefferson county and Mt. Vernon excel in everything. He was several times honored by being elected supervisor from Shiloh township and was a member of the first board after the township organization became effective. He was a member of the building committee that contracted for the construction of the court house that was destroyed by the cyclone.

In politics he was a Republican. In 1878 he was elected to the Thirty-first General Assembly of the Illinois Legislature, having been elected on the Independent ticket.

October 10, 1861, Capt. Moss enlisted in Company C, 60th Illinois Infantry, and was made captain of the company, hence the title. He was discharged in 1863, on account of physical disability, and appointed provost marshal for the 11th district, comprising all of southern Illinois, and remained in the service until the close of the war. With a detachment of soldiers he arrested a party of men who resisted draft, in a fort they had built of logs, on Skillet Fork. The men were taken to Olney and turned over to the authorities. He was supervisor of enrollment and draft for southern Illinois. He was a member of Coleman Post,

G. A. R., and was prominently identified in G. A. R. circles. Religiously he clung to the Methodist church, and through his efforts, churches have been built and Sunday schools started. In the pioneer movement he took a great interest and was president of the Jefferson County Pioneer Association. In state history he took a decided interest and was a member of the State Historical Society. There was no man who ever lived in Jefferson county who was more familiar with the early history than Capt. Moss, and he could tell in an interesting manner what he knew.

The funeral was held at the First M. E. Church at Mt. Vernon, and the service was attended by a large concourse of the friends of the deceased. The service was in charge of Rev. C. D. Shumard, and he was assisted by Rev. E. B. Surface, Rev. J. T. Payne and W. Duff Piercy.

Capt. Moss took great pride in Shiloh township, and from a literary sense, it was the leading township for many years. This was largely due to the efforts of Mr. Moss. He organized a debating society and among the members were: Z. T. Galbraith, J. B. Piercy, C. P. Harper, J. M. Galbraith, Jas. R. Driver, L. C. Johnson and J. T. Payne; some of the members have gone on before Later this society developed into a literary society, and among the members were: Superintendent of Public Instruction, Francis G. Blair, W. Duff Piercy, W. C. Blair, J. T. Ellis, and Norman H. Moss. These men have been heard from in the prominent walks of life.

The pall bearers were six nephews, W. S. Maxey, Henry Maxey, R. N. Hinman, W. D. Moss, J. R. Piercy and W. A. Piercy. Coleman Post, G. A. R. formed an escort from the residence to the church. The body was laid to rest in Oakwood beside the loving wife who preceded him just a few months.

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